

Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures for 1940

SOME MODERN TRENDS IN THE EVOLUTION OF HUMAN INSTITUTIONS

PRAPHULLACHANDRA BASU, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.



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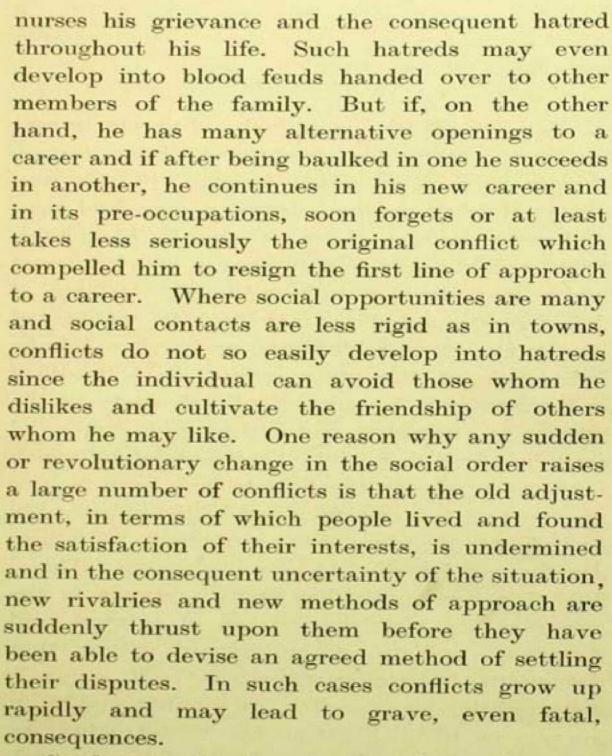
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INTRODUCTORY

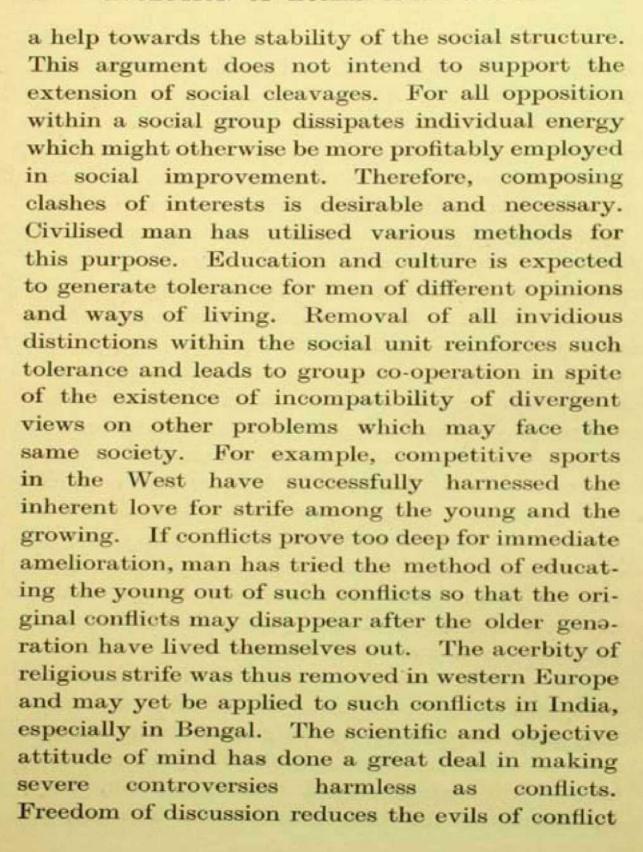
Man is a gregarious animal and except in rare instances and under exceptional circumstances, usually lives in organised society. In this way are established contacts between man and man and between one group of men and another. Such contacts may lead to clashes of self-interest which may develop into conflicts. Conflicts, if deep-rooted or abiding, may lead to hostility of one group of men towards another or among individuals of the same group. Such hostility in its turn may be pursued till one party to the conflict is altogether vanquished and eliminated or it may end in a mutual adjustment by which both the parties to the dispute may have to give up a part of their original ground and live amicably according to the terms of the settlement. Conflicts usually arise out of clash of self-interests. Therefore, if a counity has many openings to the career of its members, clashes of interest and therefore conflicts of individuals within that community become less generalised. If a man's opportunities for a career are limited and if in his pursuit in that career he is obstructed, he sees no alternative opening for himself. In such cases he gets embittered and feeling thwarted,

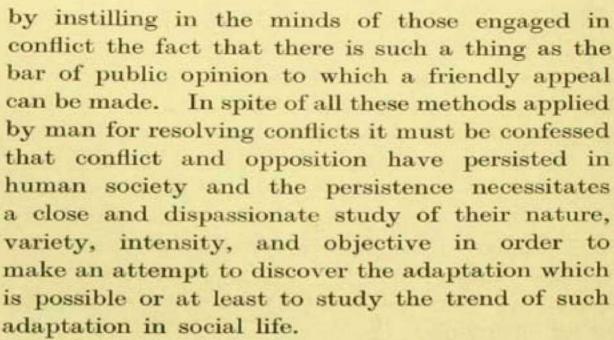


Conflicts leading to opposition have also their good aspects. When within a homogeneous group

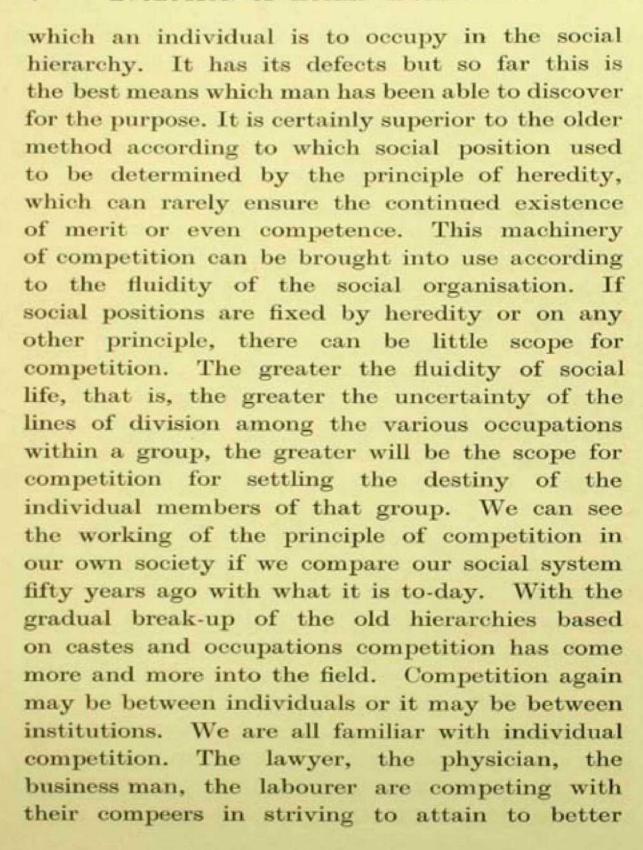


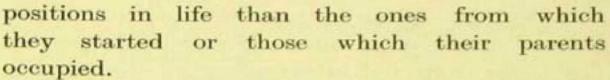
or in a family any expression of hostile or discordant opinion is altogether banned, it soon leads to seething discontent and to a sense of frustration, which would have been blown away if there had been a free and frank ventilation of the injured feeling. Such expressions of hostile opinion have a mollifying effect upon the individuals concerned and a strengthening effect upon the group or the family. Fighting, however, keeps a group strong and united while the removal of all opposition leads to fissiparous tendencies which may ultimately break up the group. Opposition to the British Government in India put in the same camp many groups and individuals who, when they came to power, even to a limited extent, failed to agree as to any method of working together. It is a mistake to suppose that conflicts grow with the number and variety of clashes of interests. This would be so if the lines of opposition in all cases were always the same. But this is rarely so. For example, the age conflict between the old and the young finds divergent cleavage in a society from the race conflict or labour conflict or sex conflict. The members arrayed against one another in one kind of conflict may find themselves on the same side in another kind of conflict. Thus a multiplicity of conflicts, instead of making social cohesion weak, may, by assuaging the bitterness of one another, be



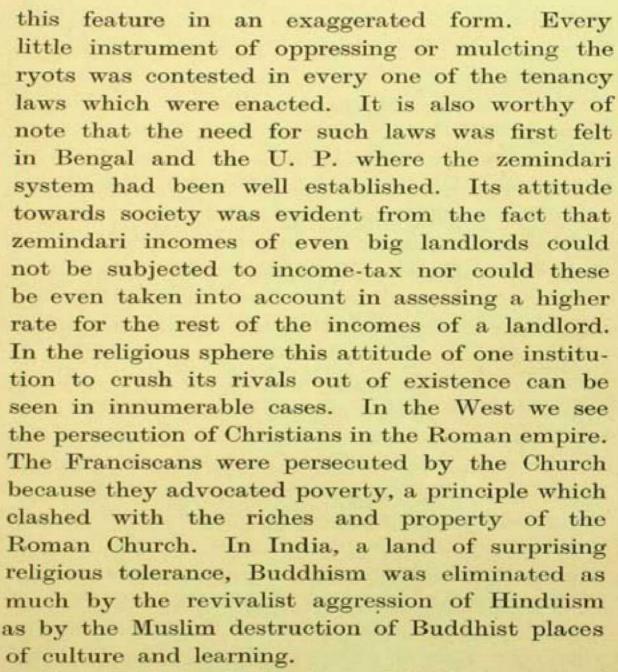


Competition may be considered as a kind of social clash but it must be distinguished from conflict in the ordinary sense. Competition is necessary to keep society alert, vigorous, and supple. Its elimination as a social phenomenon, unlike that of conflict, will mean social stagnation. Competition is analogous to conflict in that it also generates rivalry for the same object, the complete success of one party to the contest eliminating the other. But it differs from conflict in that it usually works within certain definite code of conduct which seeks to eliminate the bitterness of defeat and always excludes the idea of inflicting any physical injury to the opponent. The ideal competition is to be found in competitive sports. Competition has been used by man for one great social purpose, viz. to assign the place





Competition among institutions within country may be severe and may take the form of a real strife. This struggle is usually between institutions which are old and well entrenched and those which are new and hope to give expression to the circumstances arising out of a change in the conditions determining the evolution or existence of social institutions. The first result of such competition is the impulse to destroy or completely eliminate the opponent. specially so in the religious and economic spheres, probably also in other spheres if the old institutions, now attacked, have held the field for too long. In the economic sphere this can be seen in the history of labour organisations which challenge the privileges of the employing classes. At one time all attempts at any kind of combination among the working classes were banned. Even to-day such combinations, especially if they adopt any ideological ideal different from that of the governing classes, find great difficulties even in carrying on their other work which may not be directly influenced by their specific ideal. Bengal the attitude of the land-owning classes towards even the elementary rights of the tenants or of society during the last century shows

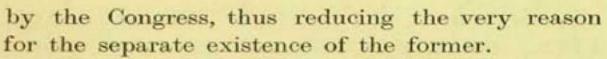


Sometimes an institution which has acquired sufficient privileges for itself attempts to face the onslaughts of competition by withdrawing itself from all competition and remaining beyond the pale of competition in order to defend its



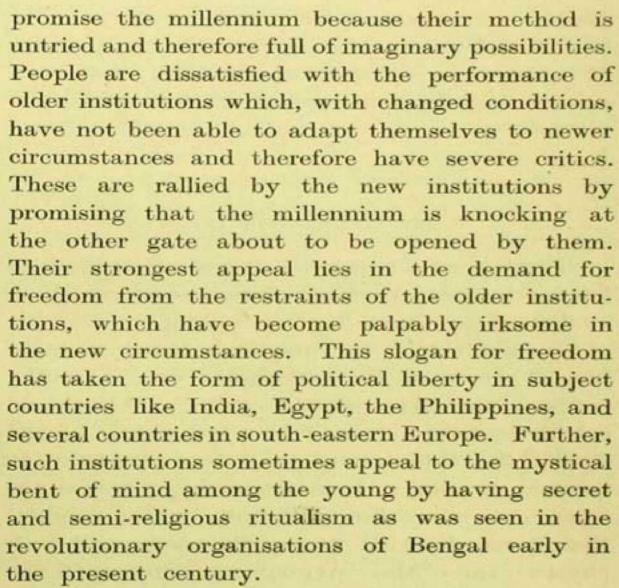
acquired powers and privileges. This is the turn which competition has taken in many spheres of human activity. Thus are the Asiatics excluded from Pacific America, Indians from Africa and Australia and now probably from Burma and Ceylon. In Spain and, for a time, in France the Roman Church adopted this method with State aid to fight its opponents, the reformers. In India the social hierarchy in orthodox Hinduism has tried the same method.

If these methods fail, an institution may reluctantly be compelled to adapt itself to its environment by methods which it never recognised before and which it accepts now only as a means to an end. The best example is the political renovation of Japan in modern times. Japanese culture nor its mystical veneration for monarchy has been affected by the wholesale adoption of Western methods of economic and military organisations. Bismarck's adoption of a comprehensive scheme of social insurance was borrowed by the left-wing Liberals in Britain after a quarter of a century. But Bismarck's object was not to advocate this kind of advance social reform but to deprive the Socialists of Germany of their influence by taking away their main plank of support. An Indian example of such constrained adaptation is the acceptance of the militant programme of the Forward Bloc 2-1380B



Sometimes an institution attempts to avoid competition by trying to specialise in a particular line. For years the older universities of Britain tried to evade the demands for scientific studies by asserting that they wanted to specialise in the Classics. The Roman Catholic Church 'specialised' in ritualism to attract and retain its followers and adherents. The Tantric sect in Bengal stood its ground for a long time against the onslaughts of Vaishnava revival by its elaborate and secret mysticism and ceremonials.

The foregoing are all methods adopted by the older institutions in their fight with the newer ones. The method of new institutions must be fundamentally different. They cannot adopt these methods because their adoption presumes an already existing privileged position. Therefore, newer institutions cannot use methods which are mainly devised to keep the ground acquired in the past. For them is not the defensive tactics developed by the older institutions. To begin with, such institutions must start with extravagant and sensational claims which are likely to capture the imagination of the people. They have no past which, in the case of older institutions by their performance, fixes and limits the claims that can be legitimately advanced. They can

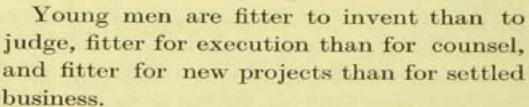


From the purely sociological point of view evolutionary adaptation is best fostered by always keeping open the door of competition, thus compelling all institutions to win their followers rather than inherit them. From this point of view any privilege or power allotted to an institution by law or custom is a handicap to itself in the race of life as also a focus-point of

danger to society later in its history. The bar of public opinion is yet the best judge of institutions in spite of the fact that such opinion may be uninstructed, misled, and even perverse.

SOCIAL CONFLICTS

Turning now to specific items of conflicts in human societies we may discuss some which in modern times have become potent in the life of civilised man. The first that comes to mind just at present is the age conflict or the conflict between the old and the young. We should not be surprised if we find a few young in age among the older group or a few grey-hairs in the fold of youth. It is not merely physical age which determines the two groups in the conflict. Mental age does not necessarily correspond with physical age. Also environment determines the groupings. The young man in comfortable circumstances may well be conservative for the old order has suited him well, while the older man in rags may respond to the call of destructive action. In spite of this cross-mingling of the old and the young there is a fundamental contrast in the outlook between the two which Bacon has thus expressed:



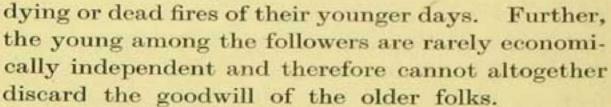
Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end without consideration of the means and degree; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them.

Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success.

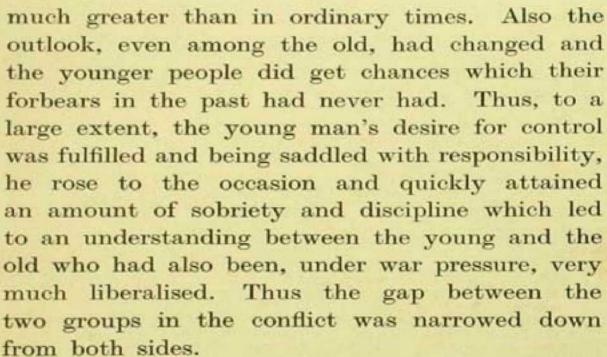
The whole outlook of the two parties in the conflict is different. The old have achieved or are on the way to achieving whatever they expect in life. Therefore, their objective is to retain what rights, privileges, or fortunes they have foregathered. This makes them naturally conservative. The young, on the other hand, have ambition but no achievement. They are not content with what they have, for they have little. They want better opportunities and look to the

prospects of the future rather than to past achievements. Thus they are radical, extreme, and critical of whatever stand in their way. The old may and often do sympathise with the aspirations of the young, for they have tasted the urge in their own youth. But the latter are impatient by nature and not having known the mentality of the old, are hyper-critical of the slow, deliberative attitude of the old.

The acerbity of this conflict between the old and the young has been modified by several factors. The first is the firm place which family life still holds in the minds of all men, young and old. It is less among the young than among the old but none-the-less it exists among the young as well. Within the same family the old and the young live together and in amity. This strong bond of love and affection naturally prevents their fight outside the family from becoming as bitter as many other conflites or as it might otherwise have been. Another feature is the consideration on the part of the young, especially the leaders among them who are approaching the fold of the older men in physical age, that they would soon be old and be the objective of the conflict within a short time. This moderates their ardour completely to overthrow the old. Also the old become tolerant of the independent attitude of the young as they remember the



Freedom in the abstract which, in years of youthful idealism, has strong fascination for the young, is the usual slogan for them to raise in every sphere of life. Having felt the restraints of rules and conventions against which they protest and thinking that their lot will immediately improve if these are all removed en bloc, they are now in a state of revolt all over the world. Interpreted in concrete terms their revolt means a demand for freedom for them to choose, as in India, their mates in marriage or association and to reject any opinions-religious, social, moral, or political-or any code of social conduct except those enjoined or at least approved by themselves. The last war helped the emancipation of youth in the West. In the war, whether at the front or at home, on land, sea, or air, they had taken an active and a dominant part in the serious affairs of life. In spite of the control of older people war is an affair in which, by virtue of their physical strength and suppleness alone if not for other reasons, the young will be in the vanguard and feel that they have achieved great things. In the post-war life of the victorious countries also the young found opportunities



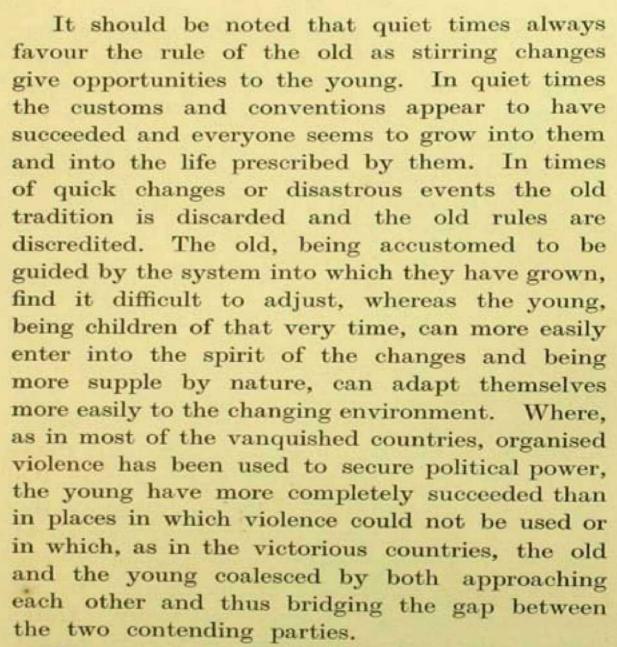
In countries outside the immediate zone of the war the spirit of the young rose to great heights and they became as self-conscious as in the West. But here-in India, China, Egyptthe life of the young was more circumscribed. They were not economically independent. They did not have the same opportunities for control as in the western countries during the war. Neither deaths in war nor post-war expansion had opened up careers to young men at all comparable with what happened in the West. Also the original control of the older people over the young was much greater than in the West. Further, the young had little opportunities of being disciplined and sobered by holding positions of responsibility nor welded together



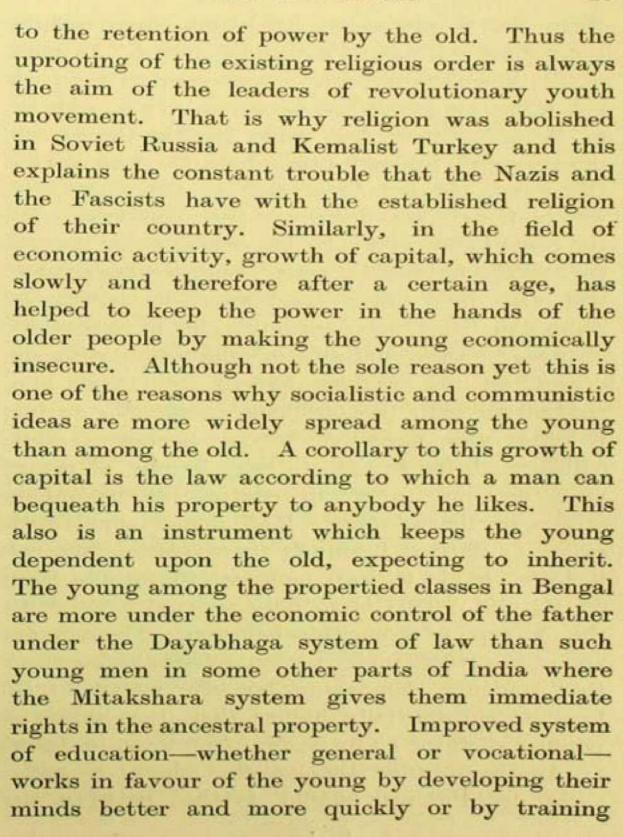
into a homogeneous mass through the fire of the cataclysmic war. The older people were more conservative and less adaptable in these countries. The result has been a more bitter clash between the old and the young than in the victorious countries of Europe. As a reaction the youth movement in Asia has been more undisciplined and less practical than in the West.

In the vanquished countries the reaction was entirely different. There the policy and conduct of the old had failed and led to disaster. weakening hold of the old weakened further and suddenly the people in charge of affairs disappeared from the scene as a result of the revolution that followed the war, leaving control in the hands of new men-no doubt, old in age, but not those old people who had wielded power before the catastrophe of the war. These old men of the new régime did not have any prestige nor could they claim the experience and wisdom of the former leaders in affairs of the State. In all these countries—in Russia, Germany, Turkey—the controlling power very soon passed into the hands of the young or to organisations which, even when controlled by older men, consisted mainly of the young and which worked with the help and the outlook of the young or which successfully undertook to carry out the regimentation of the youth of the country.

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This conflict between the old and the young is accentuated or modified by several features in the social life of the community. If the religious feeling is strong, that is, if formal religion has a strong hold upon the people, this works for stability of the existing system and therefore is an aid



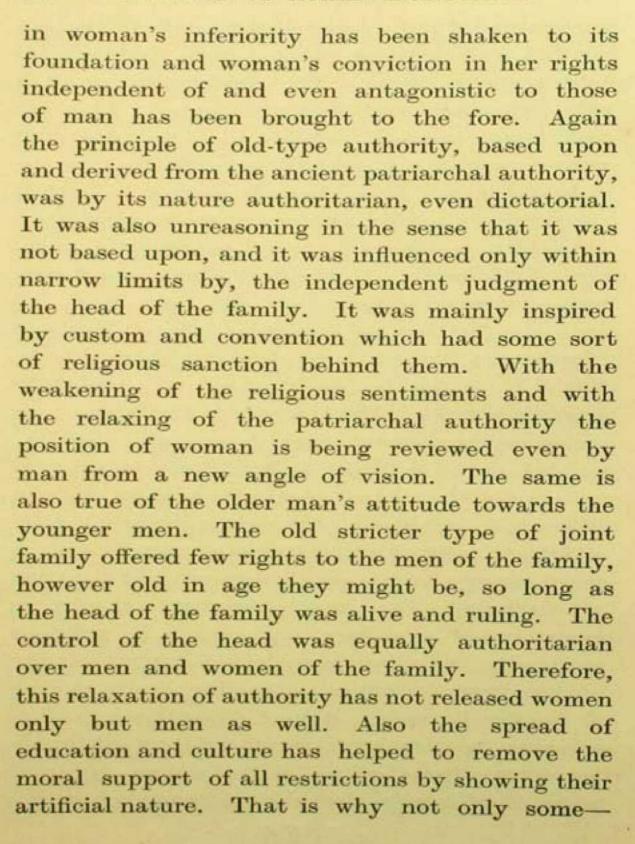
them for a profession, in either case making them more self-reliant and independent. In most of the liberal professions a man reaches his peak long after his youth has departed. In a country, as Bengal, where the clever among the poeple mostly aspire for such professions, the best among the young do not form part of the movement which moulds the destiny of their compeers. On the other hand, every facility which helps the old to remain physically active and mentally alert will also help them to remain in power by combining the easy assimilation of necessary changes in their methods of adaptation with the experience and wisdom derived from their long association with the problems of life. From this point of view a really effective system of adult education helps the old to keep abreast of things and therefore to retain control of the public affairs of the country. Real democracy, which exists or existed in much fewer places than we imagine, tends to lean more on the young than on the old. This is so only as contrasted with the old type of monarchical system. The average age of the rulers under a monarchy is higher than that under a democracy but the latter, in its turn, is substantially higher than that under a popular dictator as in Russia, Germany, or Italy.

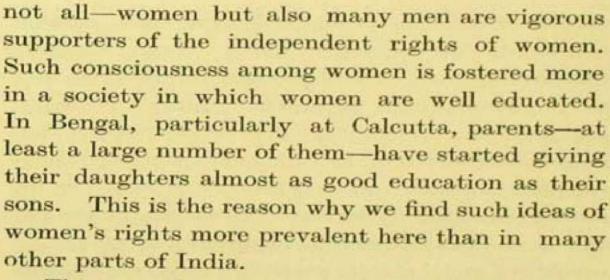
Another conflict that we find almost as widespread as the age conflict is that between the

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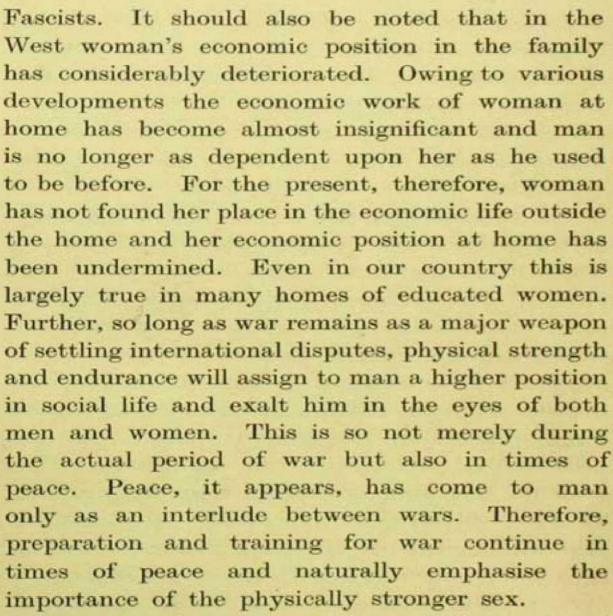
two sexes. Unlike other social conflicts the sex conflict has nowhere divided man and woman into opposite camps. The participants on each side have been from both the sexes. Thus we find many men as upholders of the rights of women and many women as upholders of the rights of men. Like the age conflict in normal times the sex conflict also can never be very bitter nor violent because of the cross-mingling of members of the family. As members of the same family men and women belong to the same unit and are held together by too great ties of love and affection to be breakers of each other's heads. The sex conflict is also like the age conflict in another respect. The inter-sex relations in a stable society without much changes and therefore without much challenge to tradition and conventions get adjusted to a particular type of culture. Individual behaviour, through upbringing from childhood, is fitted into the type of culture. When social changes take place this complacent situation is shattered. The most important change in recent years has been the decay in religious sentiments, religion everywhere having been the most potent influence in holding down women in the family circle. Almost all religious dogmas relegated to woman a social position distinctly inferior to that of man. With the loss, in recent years, of faith in religious dogmas man's conviction



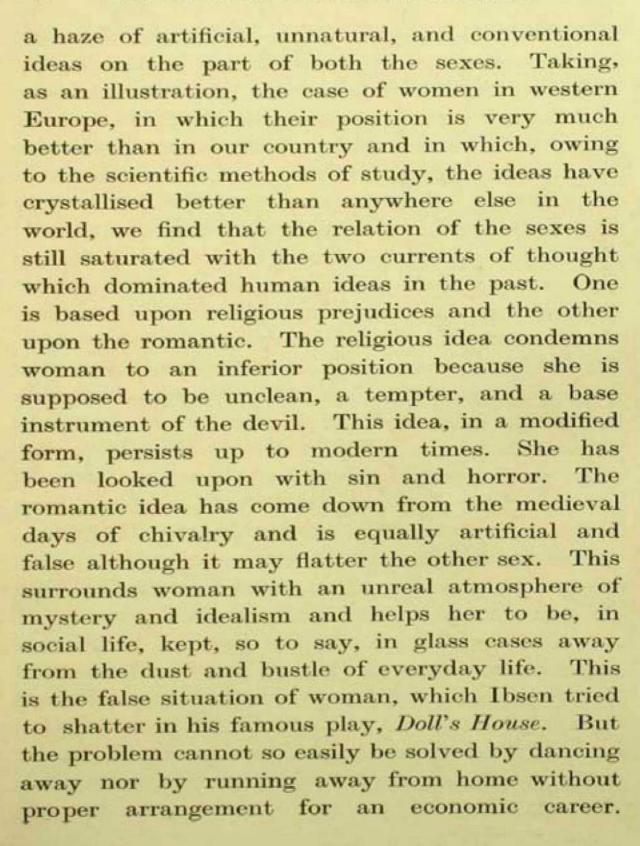


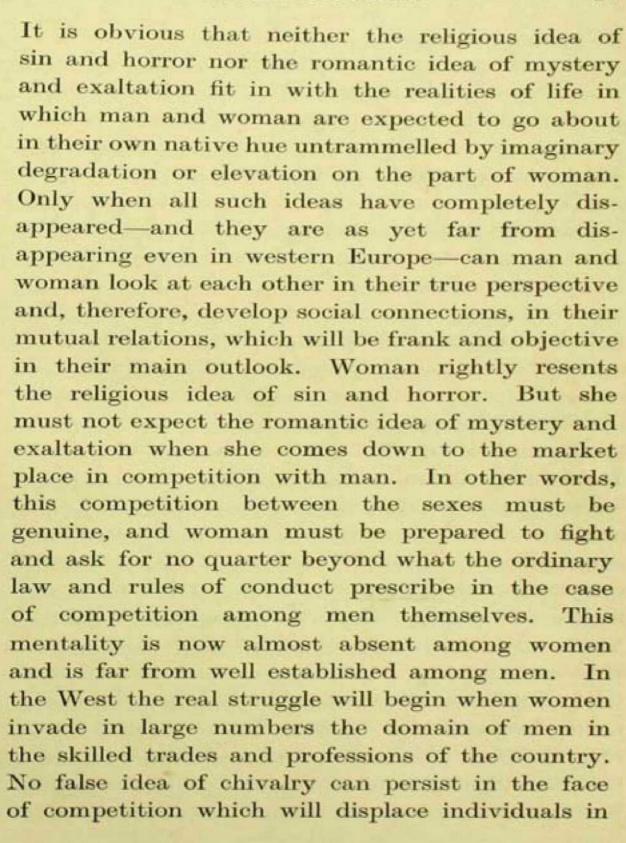
There are, however, several factors which work against complete equality in the status of men and women. The first is the result of biological differences between the two sexes. As the bearer of the children of the race woman is handicapped in the race, for she is tied down during the period to a mode of life which must keep her away from any other work of an active nature. Even normally she is not capable of doing sustained physical work which requires strength. Athletic contests always emphasise the physical superiority of men over women. Also the world even now needs a lot of exploring and pioneering work which requires a kind of wild life for which women are constitutionally unfit. The second cause of women's continued inferiority is economic. In spite of education and technical training women have not yet caught up with men in the economic race. In the West they have, in large numbers,

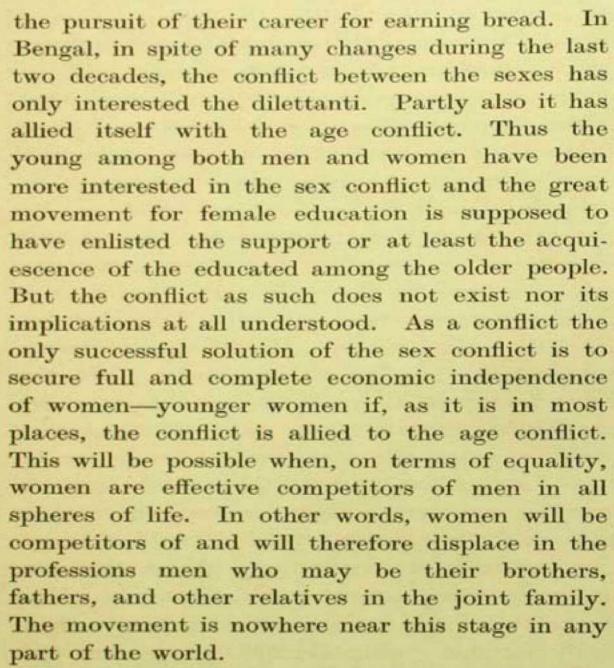
entered the liberal professions and to a smaller extent, in the services. Even there women's numbers in the technical professions have not been very encouraging. In India women's economic independence, even in the liberal professions, has been insignificant. So long as social stability continues there is no reason why women should not be economically independent in large numbers. But in the past women have suffered most during periods of social stability which is often accompanied with social stagnation. Probably heir rights will be better recognised and their economic career more assured during the next period of social stability during which ideas about their rights and privileges are widely adopted. But if, as in the past, recognition of their rights and privileges depends upon a period of social instability, the nature and extent of such instability may fundamentally affect their position. In every country social instability, beyond a certain point, takes a violent form, and in all such periods of violent changes the physically strong man dominates because he is more useful in that era than woman. Germany and Italy the woman's position is much worse to-day than what it was early in the present century. It is necessary to realise that this has been due more to the exigencies of the social situation than to any cut and dried theory about woman's position on the part of the Nazis or the



Another obstacle in the way of a rational position of women in the social life of mankind is the strong sentiments which have enveloped man's ideas about the proper relation of the sexes. Except probably in rural parts of Russia and among some savage tribes the relation between the sexes has always been looked upon through







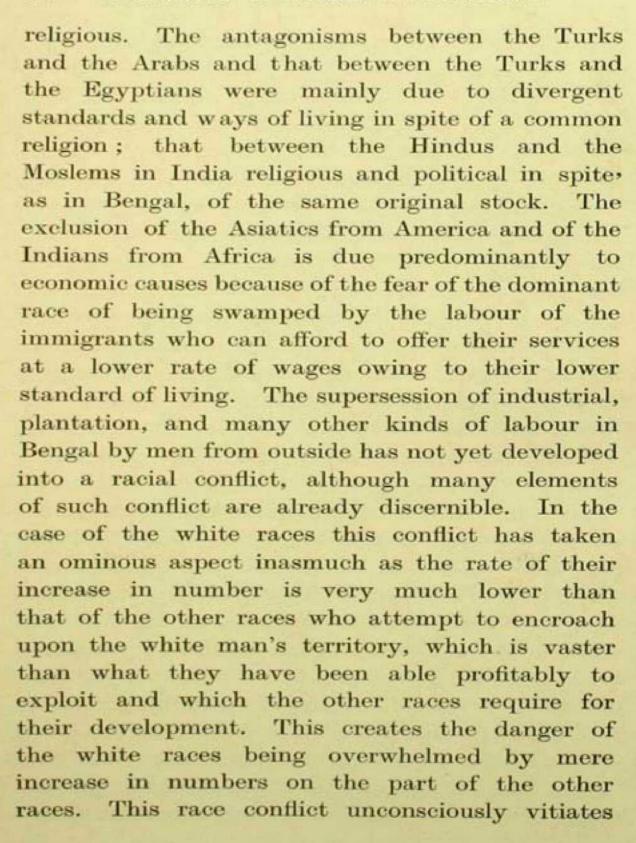
The third conflict which has specially developed in the modern age is what may be called the race conflict. Throughout the ages this conflict has been brutal and devastating in its results. The reason is obvious. Man has always held

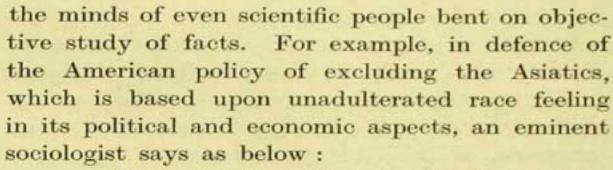
the stranger as his enemy. There are few ties of sentiment or self-interest with the stranger. This conflict has been further embittered by differences in physical traits, e.g. in features, skin colour, etc. Therefore, when man is in conflict with the stranger he is without pity or remorse. Of course, there is no inherent superiority or inferiority among the so-called races of the world. But the hostile feeling towards the strange man has always led the victor to claim superiority as a race. Such victory is nothing but the superior advantages which the victor has obtained either from the social circumstances of the victim or in the implements of warfare and organisation which he has happened to have for the moment. Anthropologists know that there is no inherent qualities in the races as such to make one superior or the other inferior. They also know that there is no pure race in the world now and that all are mixed up, although the degree of such mixture and the physical environment being different, there are differences in physical traits.

On final analysis the race conflict in modern times is really a clash of different cultures or one of economic interests. The race conflict between the Germans and the Poles was religious and political, that between the Germans and the Czechs was religious, political, and economic, and that between the Turks and the Armenians was





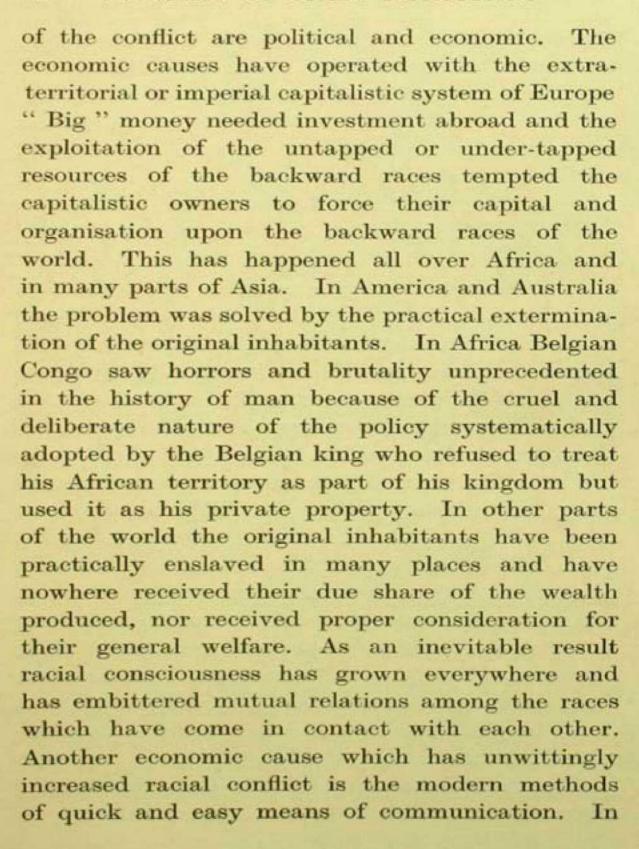


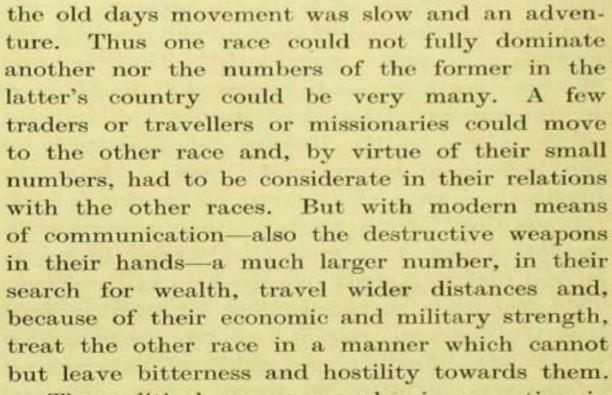


The restriction of immigration by a nation with a controlled fertility, fearful of being swamped by the overflow from congested blindly-multiplying peoples, will seem an insult when the excluded are of a different race. Under dread of population pressure many nations will eventually adopt policies which ignorance or malice will charge to sheer race antipathy—and which will be resented as such.

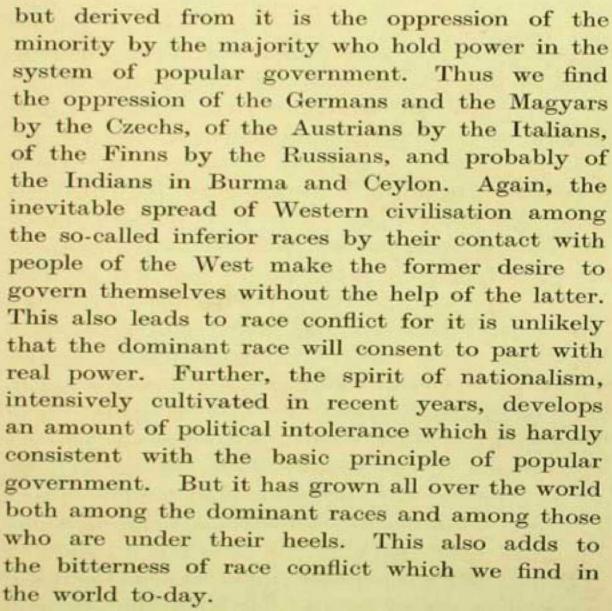
The successful operation of democracy requires that a people be fairly like-minded, able to think, feel, and act together. Exclusion of immigrants of an altogether different hue and culture may be motivated by a people's reluctance to become a hodge-podge of diverse colors, tongues, and faiths, with the most discordant moral and economic standards; yet the policy will be interpreted as a gesture of racial arrogance.

Apart from religion which has its obvious share in race conflict the two other main causes

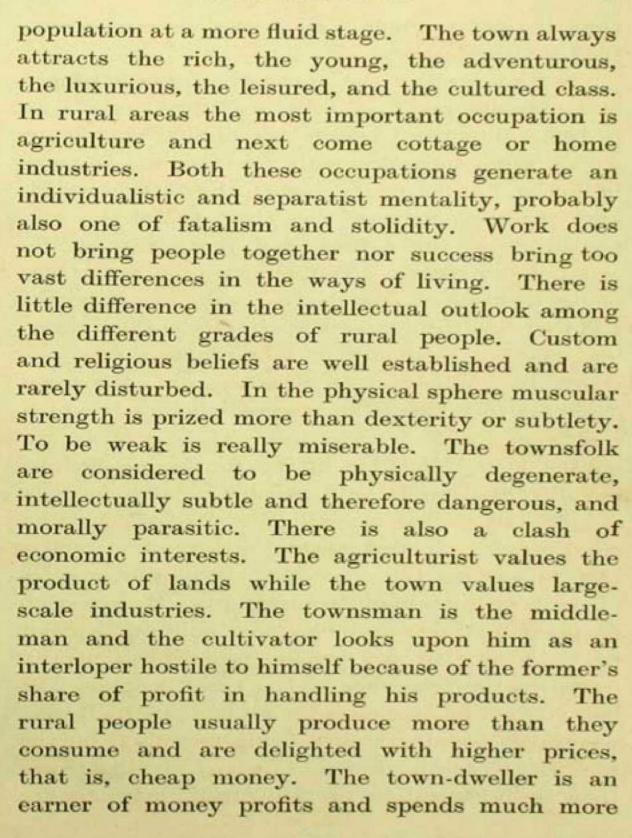




The political causes are also in operation in the conflict of races. Before there was any popular government in the modern sense the government of a country was, however inadequately, a sort of arbiter between its own nationals and members of other races with whom the former came in conflict. With popular government political power has passed in the hands of the common people. Thus the members of the dominant race, being in control of political power, are supported in their predatory conduct towards the other race which has no voice in the government which controls both the races. This can be seen in the anti-Indian laws of South Africa, Kenya, Australia, and Canada. A variant of such policy



In modern times there has arisen another kind of conflict in which there is a clash of interests between those who live in urban areas and those who live in rural areas. This is an essentially modern problem in many of its aspects since it could not exist in the present form in older days when towns were fewer in number and the urban



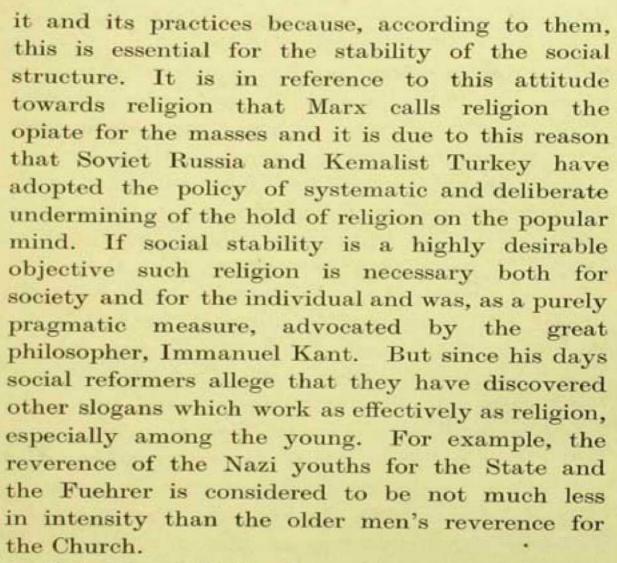
than the rural people. He wants cheaper goods, that is, dear money.

In the conflict the town is always stronger and gets its point of view well recognised. It is better organised, more articulate, controls or wields more influence with government, is more brainy and in better touch with the outside world, and arrogates to itself the right to be the sole repository of the culture and prosperity of the country as a whole. The rural people can rarely make themselves effectively heard, are dispersed and therefore disorganised, have rarely a determining voice in settling the price of their products which are probably sold in advance to the town dealer or in settling the price of the goods which they buy for their own use. Their schools are on the model of those in the towns and do not breed in the pupils any love for rural life or its occupations. This is naturally disliked by the rural people. In Bengal the town-country conflict can be seen in the contest between the growers of jute and its manufacturers over the question of price fixation, although this contest has not as yet grown to any serious proportions mainly owing to the ignorance of the rural people. The real conflict has gone on for some years in Russia where the country is also being organised on the same scale as the towns. But so far the town, that is, organisation of industrial labour, has



held the ground against the country, that is, organisation of agricultural worker.

Another kind of conflict which is found in human societies is the conflict between the followers of different religions or different sects within the same religion. Religious persecution has various motives behind it. Many fanatical men with little brain and less love for their fellow-men sincerely believe that the religion which they profess is the only true religion, that their god will be pleased if this religion is also followed by others, that he will be angry if that is not so, and that if this religion is forced upon others, it will be good for their soul. Thus these people invoke the pleasure of their god and the good of their fellow-men for the tyranny which they inflict upon others. There are again those who believe that suffering in this world will have its permanent reward in the next and thus prescribe suffering for themselves as also for others. If the latter are unwilling or truculent all the more reason for inflicting greater suffering on them for their own future good-here if possible, hereafter if necessary. Gibbon truly says of religious dogmas that they are all true to the devout, all false to the philosopher, and all useful to the statesman. Hence we find a large body of opinions which do not fanatically believe nor sadistically practise dogmatic religion but which none-the-less uphold



Religious strife has been the curse of human society since the time when formal religion developed into an organised system. In Europe this can be seen in the persecution of the early Christians by Rome and their retaliation centuries afterwards against the pagans; in the persecution by the Roman Church culminating in the attempt at the suppression of all independent thinking on the part not only of theologians or religious



preachers but also of scientific thinkers like Galileo; in the working of the Spanish Inquisition; in the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in the persecution of the Huguenots in France, of the Catholics in the Netherlands, and of both the Catholics and the Nonconformists in England. In several cases the religious strife got mixed up with the race conflict with bizarre effect. Thus the Tsarist persecution of the eastern Poles for converting them into the Orthodox Church as a means towards Russianising them and the German persecution of the Western Poles for converting them into the Lutheran Church as a means towards Germanising them only confirmed the Poles as zealous Catholics. The same policy by Austria confirmed Bohemian Protestantism and the political—in a sense racial—persecution by Britain intensified Catholicism in Eire. In spite of the great tolerance of thinking and preaching in the U. S. A. there are even to-day several places there in which the Darwinian theory of evolution, because of its incompatibility with the orthodox Christian fable regarding the original creation of the species, is not permitted to be taught in the schools although the theory is now fully proved as scientific truth.

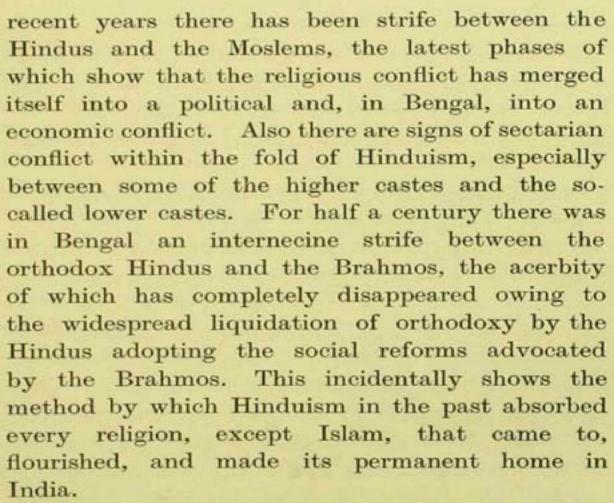
In western Asia, which has been the birthplace and cradle of several important religions of the

world, religious strife has been quite bitter. Among Europeans the strife between the Jews and the Christians has lasted for centuries and, after a brief period of respite during the spread of liberal culture and tolerance in the nineteenth century, appears to have burst out in its original fury, becoming more cruel and savage owing to the modern methods of organised activity and to the modern means of communication. The strife between the Christians and the Moslems culminated in the Crusades which lasted for centuries and which abated in their fury only with the decay of religious zeal on the part of the Christians and with their own internecine quarrels in Europe. The old strife between the Jews and the Moslems was assuaged for a time by the dispersion of the former from their original home and threatens to revive by the attempted juxtaposition in Palestine of the followers of the two religions. It should be noted, however, that the modern religious strife here is also complicated by the racial and economic conflicts, as can be seen from the fact that the Christian Arabs, whose number is very large in Palestine, are all with the Moslem Arabs in the new conflict between the Arabs and the Jews. Within the Moslems themselves there is the old strife between the Sunnis and the Shias, which has persisted up to modern times both in India and in the Middle East. The Moslem

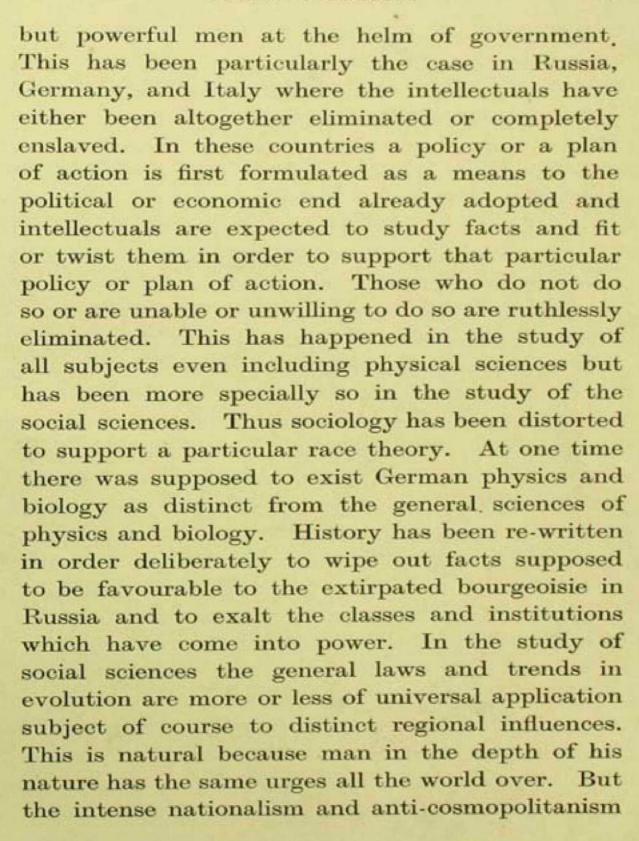


opposition to the political power of Ibn Saud, Abdul Aziz, whose State is a pure theocracy, is due mainly to the Puritan support of the king from the Wahabis of Ikhwan and was organised by Hussein and supported by his sons, Feisal of Iraq and Abdullah of Transjordania. Iran refused to support this opposition to the Arab king partly because it is a Shia country and partly on political grounds; Egypt refused to join on purely political grounds and Turkey because it had already left the safe anchor of religion for completely secularising the State. Within the Moslem religion there has been another sectarian strife due to the rise of the Ahmadiyas. At one time this threatened the unity of Afghanistan but the sect migrated to northern India and has found a safe haven.

In India religious strife has been in existence from time immemorial. The Aryan religion displaced that of the original Dravidians and was in its turn superseded by Buddhism. Buddhism had internecine quarrels between the Hinayana and Mahayana sects. There is traditional evidence of strife between the worshippers of Shiva and those of Vishnu. Within Shaivaism there have been several sects incompatible with one another, some of them, e.g., the Tantric system, surviving competition by isolating themselves behind secret and mystic ritualism. In more

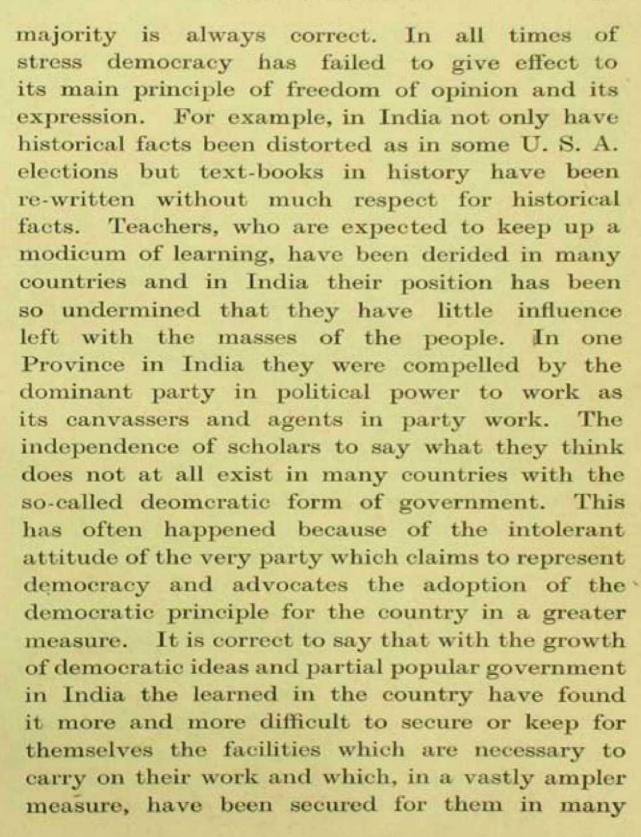


There is another conflict which should be mentioned because at one time it was severe in some parts of the world and more because in the modern world, in a more systematic form, it threatens to reappear on a wider scale than it ever was in the past. This is the conflict between those who are learned and those who are not. Wherever the autocratic form of government has developed in modern times this conflict has been seen in the suppression of inconvenient or uncontrollable opinions of the learned by the ignorant



of the dominant group does not tolerate the idea that the foundational urges and sociological tendencies of one's country are the same as elsewhere. Artificial efforts are made to bring out and emphasise stray and unessential tendencies, the study of which is elevated to independent subjects and often called science. Regimentation of youthful minds is undertaken in order to attain to a uniformity of ideas most of which are inaccurate and, in any case, none of which are studied with the object of liberating the human mind or even of acquainting it with the modern methods of scientific study.

From what we have said so far it should not be too hastily assumed that the conflict between the learned and the ignorant is absent in democratic countries. It was in Athens that Socrates was condemned to death. Some years ago when there was great anti-British feeling in the U.S.A. some politicians raised an election slogan pledging to "kick King George out of the schools of Chicago." In elections it has happened many times that the learned men were maligned by popular demagogues who, in the long run, won in the elections and sometimes even gagged their opponents. Democracy is a good thing, certainly it is better than most other forms of government devised by man. But it is assumed in too facile a manner that the opinion of the

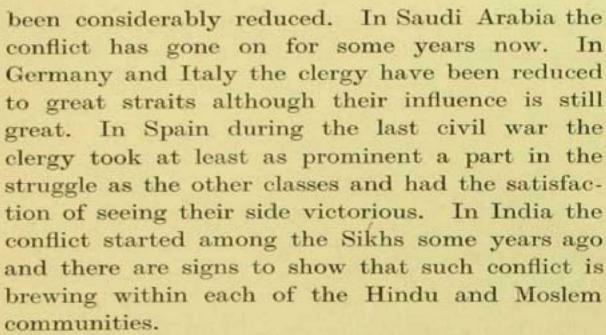


other countries of the world. The situation in India is much worse than that in the U. S. A. where an eminent historian describes the situation as below:

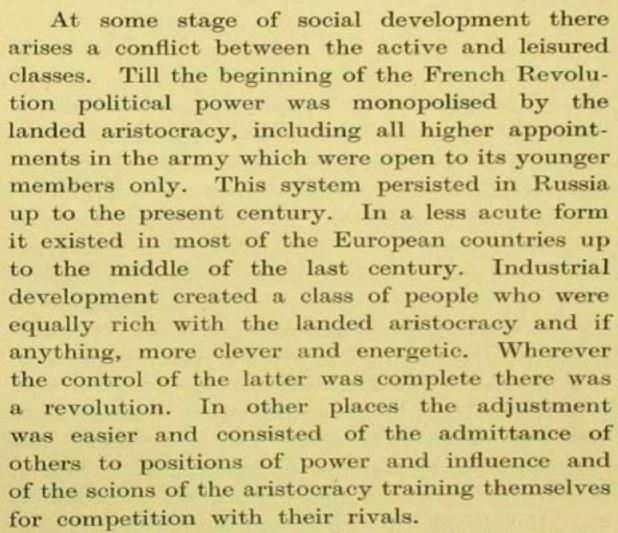
We have reached a point in American life where the maintenance of educational liberty can no longer be taken for granted. All over the country, schools are attacked by highly organised and well-financed minorities that seek to browbeat legislatures, the Congress of the United States, schoolboards and teachers. The precious values of liberty and scientific inquiry are threatened with extinction, and with them the principles upon which democratic government rests.

In the course of human history many institutions grow which reflect the social adjustment of a particular epoch. The needs of society in that epoch may be said to have crystallised in the current social institutions. When however we talk of society as a whole or its needs or its adjustment at a particular period we appear to mean as if the whole society including all its members found satisfaction in the dominant institutions of the epoch. This is far from true. Such a conclusion assumes that there is complete harmony within the society and that there is no conflict of classes within the society so far as those institutions are concerned. But such conflicts always exist among the different classes within the same society and among different sections within the same class. Such classes or groups within a class may be more or less fluid permitting the passage of individuals from one class to another or from one group to another. Or, they may be so stereotyped and exclusive that it is almost impossible for an individual to move from one below to another above it. We should consider both these types of classes in their conflict within a society.

Conflicts of classes not altogether stereotyped may also take such serious turn as to cause great commotion within a country. One such type is the conflict between the clergy and the general body of the people. This usually happens in a country in which the clergy are rich and ignorant and use their resources to retain their powers over the people by means which are harmful to general progress. In the more distant past this has happened in many countries. The whole Protestant movement in Europe may be said to be a conflict of this kind. In the present century this has come about in many countries, especially after the last European war. As a result the clergy have been extirpated in Russia. In Turkey, Iran, and Egypt their power and influence have



Another form which class conflict may take is that between the military and the civil population. A conflict like this started in Turkey soon after the last war but it was prudently given a new turn by the reforming zeal of Kemal Ataturk. Among first class Powers Japan is now the only country in which the military class has successfully seized political power although its success is not as complete as many such bid for power in medieval Europe. In Germany this struggle started soon after Hitler came into power and he had to conciliate the military class by liquidating some of his own followers; after that this conflict appears to have abated in its external manifestation. In several South American States military power seems to be the domniant factor in all political and some economic problems.

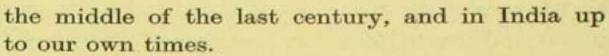


The conflict between the landlord and the tenant and that between the capitalist and the labourer is to be found in the modern history of every country but is more relevant for purposes of our study under economic conflicts.

Again there are social institutions which clearly show the complete victory of one class over another in the class conflict which must have taken place in a previous epoch. In such cases the institutions are so stereotyped and exclusive in their nature that it is almost impossible for the individual to move out of the groove into which he has been born. In such cases social conditions become similar to the ancient Roman society as described below by an eminent historian:

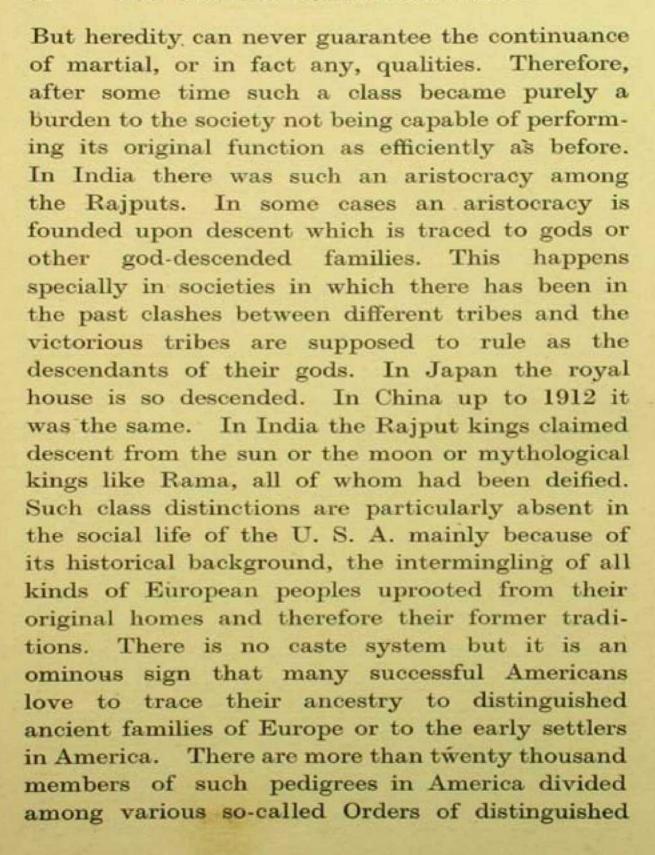
Society had been elaborately and deliberately stereotyped. As a rule, whatever a man's energy or ambition, he was doomed to work out his life on the precise lines which his ancestors had followed. All ideas of improvement were nipped in the bud, blasted by the stifling atmosphere of a despotism which, with whatever good intentions, received no guidance or inspiration from the thoughts or needs of the masses, and spent all its strength in maintaining unchanged the lines of an ancient system, instead of finding openings for fresh development. The same immobility reigned in the education of the privileged class. They felt no material need to stimulate invention and practical energy, and their academic training only deepened and intensithe deadening conservatism unassailable wealth and rank.

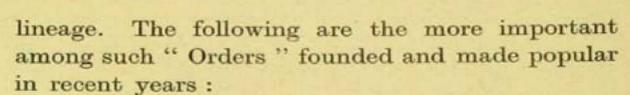
Illustrations of such rigid social life can be seen in the history of almost every country—in the old pre-Revolutionary France, in Japan up to



If we investigate into the causes of such rigid social stratification we find that there is a variety of causes which ultimately lead to the establishment of such institutions. It should be noted that whatever the original cause the system becomes permanent and stereotyped in a society only when the continuity of the original rights and privileges is based upon the principle of heredity. Whatever the power and influence of an institution it can rarely be a spear-head of future conflict if its gates are open to all members of the community by virtue of special merit or achievement. It becomes a grievance sufficiently acute for class conflict and it becomes a stereotyped and exclusive institution only when the principle of heredity is introduced for admittance into it as its privileged members.

The original cause of such an institution may be different in different cases. At one stage in the development of almost every society the fighting capacity of a man was of utmost importance for the preservation and expansion of the community. In such cases an aristocracy of warriors as a profession was naturally created and this class was considered to be superior to all other classes. Martial tradition was maintained for a time in spite of the principle of heredity.





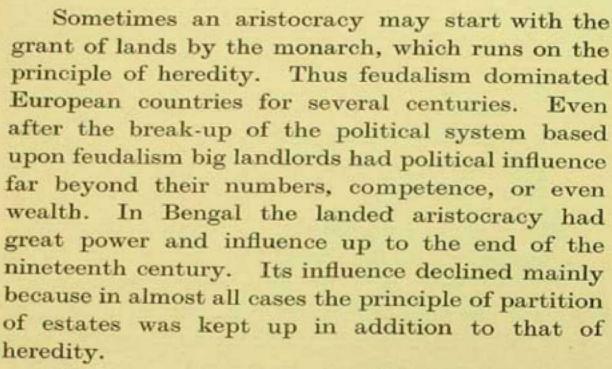
The Order of the Crown of America, which admits only those "descended lineally and legitimately from the royal houses of the Old World."

Baronial Order of Runemede, composed almost entirely of bankers, business men, and manufacturers. There are two classes of "knighthood": first, one made up of the 100 Founders of the Order and, second, one composed of the "lineal male descendants of one or more of the 25 barons who were selected to be sureties for the proper observance of the statutes contained in Magna Carta."

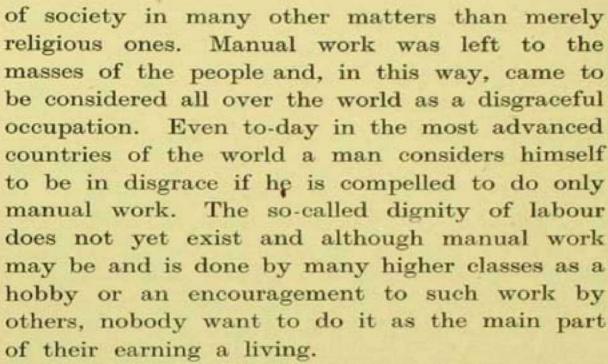
The Imperial Order of Yellow Rose admits only those of royal descent.

The Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America is open only to descendants of one "who enjoyed feudal rights in any of the American Colonies prior to July 4, 1776."

The Scions of Colonial Cavaliers is composed of "Palatines" and "Landgraves," all descendants of British nobles who fought for Charles I against Cromwell.

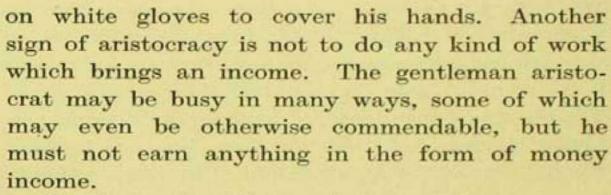


The basis of social stratification has been various. In earlier stages it used to be based mostly upon the fighting capacity of individuals. Again it may be the power and prestige wielded by virtue of one's holding a high position in government. This can be seen now in most of the countries in Asia, Africa, South America, and the countries of south-eastern Europe. Another basis is the clergy. Those who offer prayers and sacrifices for the laity are considered to be directly under the protection of the gods, and as mediators between god and the devotees their influence is naturally great with the masses. This happened in all countries of the world. In India for centuries the priestly caste has held great power and has constituted itself as the guardian

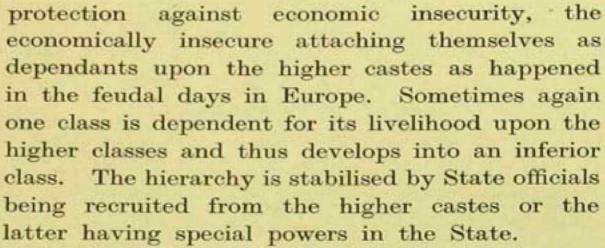


In all societies in the past and the present times, especially in the present, an important basis of social distinction has been the possession of wealth and the influence which it gives to its owner. In many cases the bases of social position, e.g. fighting or government office, used to give social status mainly because they were also the most convenient or direct method of getting wealth. Even within the aristocracy of wealth a distinction is usually made between those who have acquired wealth and those who have inherited it. The principle of heredity is so ingrained in man as a result of his past history that he normally gives superior status to those who have inherited wealth over those who have acquired it. Possession of wealth

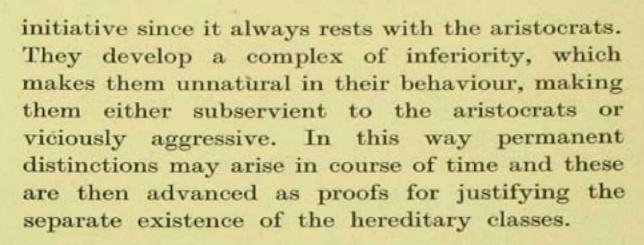
alone is not sufficient to give the social status and prestige of the aristocrat. There are certain recognised methods of displaying it which are intimately associated with the high-born. Thus living in a lavish style is supposed to be a test of such wealth in order to distinguish its owner from the plebeian who may have amassed a fortune by the baser method of work, industry, or commerce. A large number of retainers and attendants is another sign of aristocratic way of living. Even now there are parts of India, especially in Rajputana, where a man's social position is largely determined by the number of attendants that wait upon him and the members of his family, and a guest who waits upon himself, that is, does his own small things, is despised. Absurd ceremonialism may develop out of this kind of living. For example, in the West the aristocrat is supposed to live more cleanly than the vulgar folks. This formality in cleanliness and the principle of personal attendance have been pushed so far that when you arrive at an aristocrat's door you are met by a perfectly clean and perfectly groomed lacquey. But cleaner though he may be than you are he may, by virtue of his social inferiority, yet contaminate you and his master; so he carries your visiting card on a salver. Even this precaution is not final for the great aristocrat, and the lacquey must put



Exclusive hereditary classes tend to appear when the superior classes come to regard the inferior ones as of a lower species and when in course of time and by virtue of social demoralisation, the inferior classes also come to accept the situation as inevitable and therefore not abnormal. The differentiation becomes complete as a caste when the superior classes bar the avenues of approach to their fold on the part of all inferior classes. In the later Roman empire this happened for the curial who had few openings to rise to a higher level in social life. Gradually as the caste system hardens and crystallises it becomes a snobbish point of superiority for a higher caste to look down upon the inferior classes. This mentality pervades the whole system, a class lower down in the scale always looks down upon one further down in the scale. Thus it goes on for each caste—the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishvas, the Sudras, and the outcastes, and the innumerable other gradations in the caste system of India. Sometimes a distinct caste arises as a

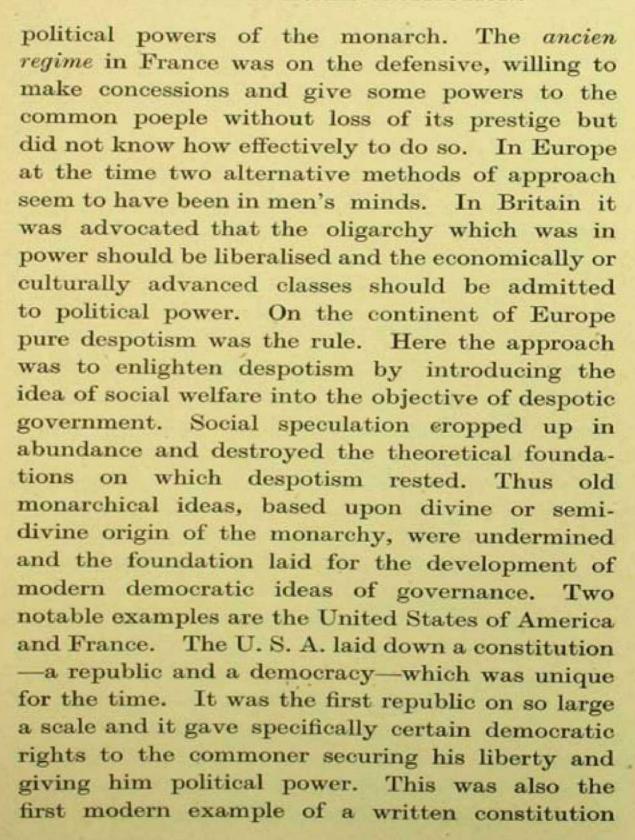


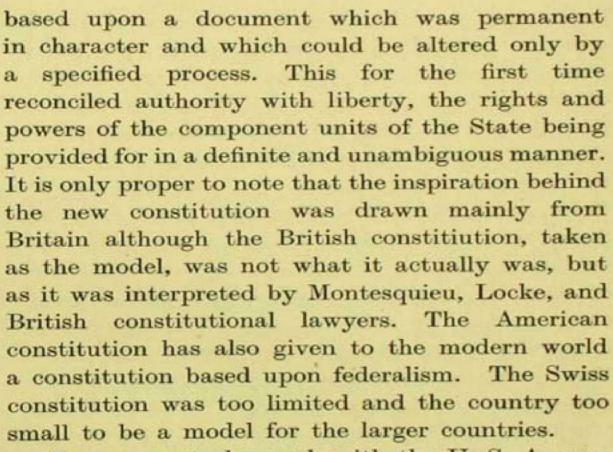
Such a hereditary higher class, if not altogether brainless and foolish, naturally develops many qualities which help its members to keep up the distinction between themselves and the rest of the society. In course of time this may lead to a real difference in character. The members of the privileged aristocracy are proud, high-spirited, and liberal. Being in possession of wealth and power they are often independent, frank, good mannered, and dignified. On the other hand, the commoners have to work for their living but do so under the shadow of the disgrace which pervades all manual work. Either they emulate the aristocrats in good living in the vain hope to be their equals or they live frugally and are considered inferior for that very reason. current law usually protects the aristocrats against the commoners; this makes the latter deceitful in their dealings with the aristocrats as also in their dealings among themselves. They lose all



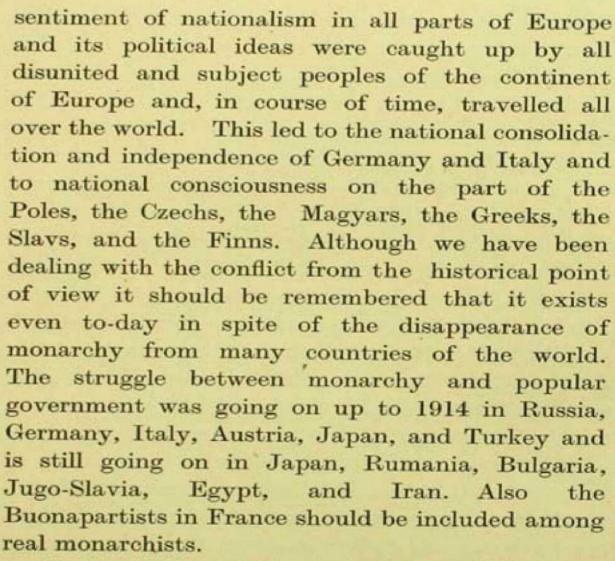
POLITICAL CONFLICTS

So long we have been dealing with conflicts in society, which are mainly based upon social causes. Although such conflicts have, in many cases, a political or an economic background, yet their foundation is primarily social. We should now turn our attention to other conflicts to be found in a modern society, which are primarily based upon political causes. In ancient times there were several conflicts which could be assigned to political reasons. But here we shall confine ourselves only to modern times. Even so we shall be required to go back a couple of centuries in order to examine the political background of such conflicts. Looking back historically the first . conflict may be said to have been in full swing in the eighteenth century between absolute monarchy and the popular checks to be imposed upon the





France must also rank with the U. S. A. as a potent example to others not so much because of what it actually performed in the Revolution. Its achievement at the time was small, its constitutions visionary, and its immediate work transitory. But its political ideas were great and inspiring and have been the basis of all modern democracies. These ideas—euphemistically contained in the formula of liberty, equality, and fraternity—have fired the imagination of all political reformers since the time of the French Revolution. Also the military aggression of France for a quarter of a century roused the



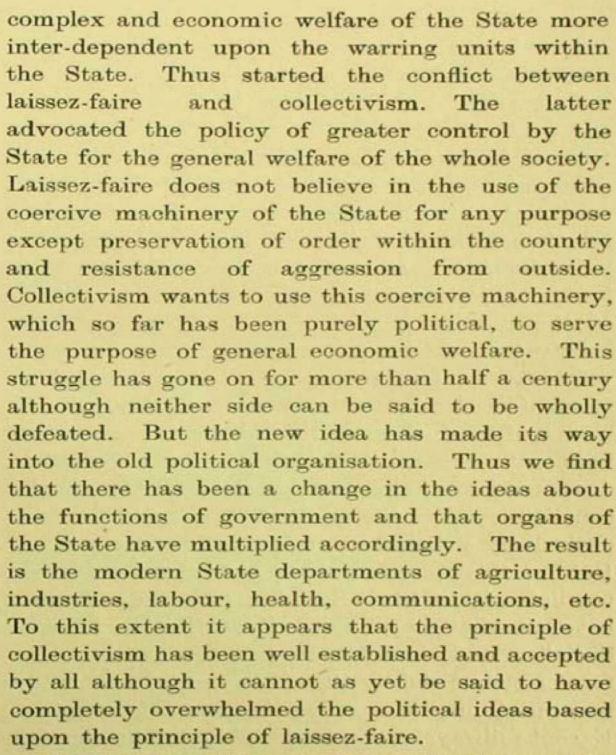
The second conflict started in Britain early in the nineteenth century and spread over all Europe and beyond it. It led to the foundation of political and economic liberalism of the century. The conflict really started in the eighteenth century in the economic sphere when Adam Smith vigorously attacked the old system of Mercantilism as obsolete and unsuitable for modern government. Although it had some reforming effects even then



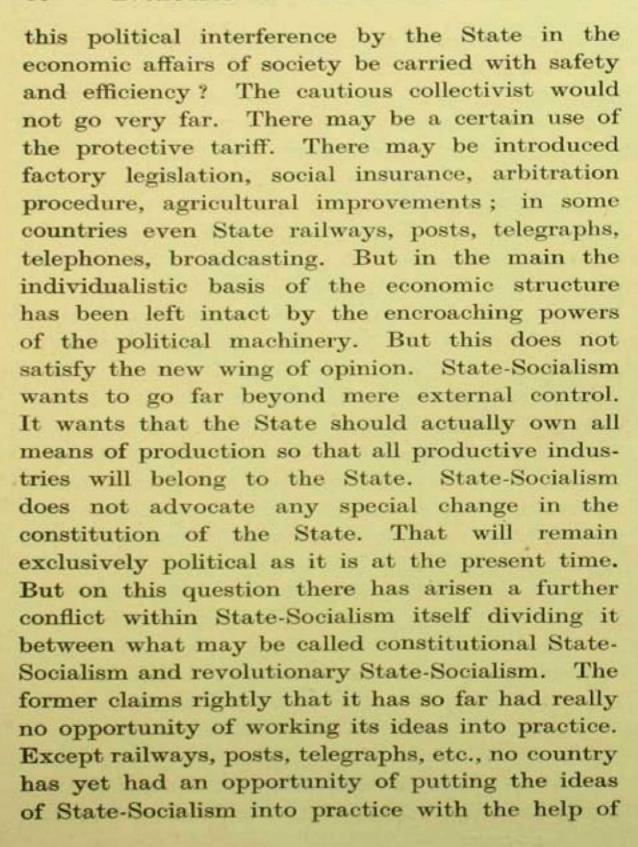
the real conflict must be said to have existed in the political sphere after the social philosophy of laissez-faire was fully established as a political doctrine. The sweeping reforms of Smithian policy were really adopted after the parliamentary reform in Britain as a result of the adoption of the political philosophy based upon laissez-faire. This principle was dominant in the political life of Britain, and then of Europe, between 1825 and 1870. It may also be called the period of Benthamite individualism. It was a great support to the system of political consitutionalism which steadily advanced in the nineteenth century in all countries of Europe-rapidly in some, in a less marked degree in others. But everywhere it was accepted by a very large body of people as the political goal to be attained. After the defeat of Germany, Austria and Turkey, and the collapse of Tsardom in Russia, this principle was adopted in all the countries of Europe, in some probably in a manner which did not exactly contribute to its stability in the political constitution. Without exception the British constitution was copied everywhere without realising even in Britain that another conflict had already started in order to supersede the principle of laissez-faire. However, the characteristic principles of the system still held ground, viz. nationalism and democracy. Each government should consist, as far as possible.

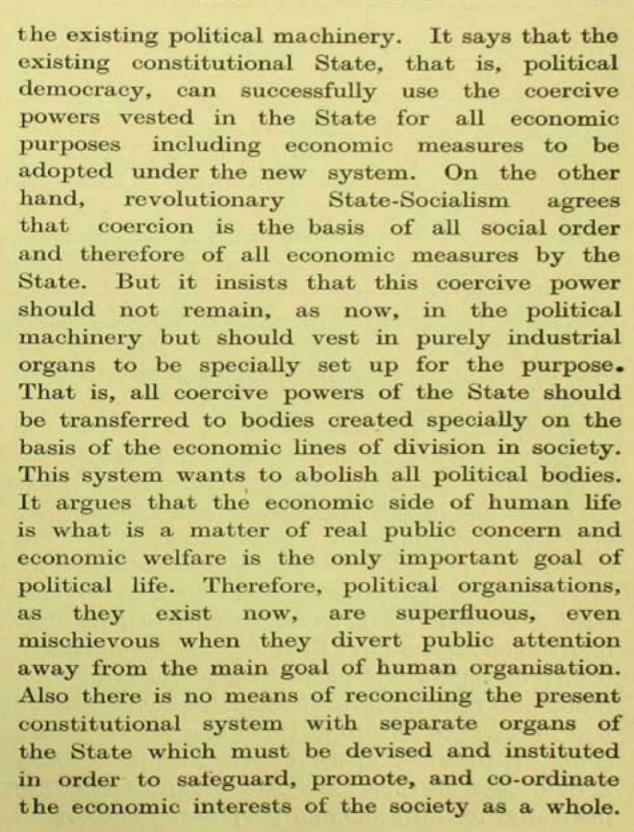
of a homogeneous people. In spite of the question of minorities, which gave great trouble and created great confusion, the succession States of Europe were more national and homogeneous than the older empires which they replaced. The principle of democracy was adopted on the exact pattern of Britain and has therefore been mostly unworkable because the British model works with customs, conventions, traditions, and understandings which are not in the written part of the constitution and which could not be transported abroad.

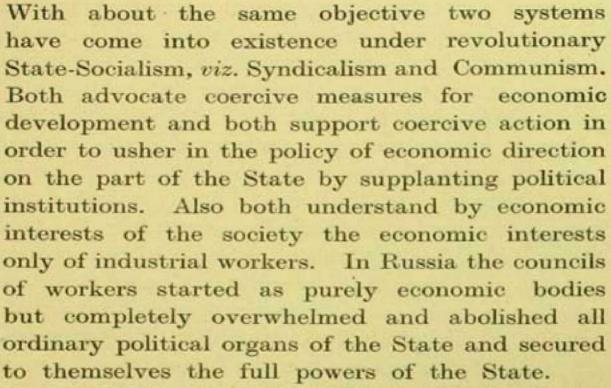
But from the middle of the nineteenth century the economic miseries following on the acceptance of the principle of laissez-faire were evident everywhere, especially in the industrially advanced countries of Europe. Britain saw them earlier because industrialisation came there earlier than elsewhere. Starting as a humanitarian movement the conflict soon developed into a political one demanding first the protection of the economically weak, next the permission on their part to combine in order to grow in economic strength, and finally the conferment of political power on them in order to secure an effective share in government. Simultaneously, among all classes of people, there was a growing feeling that leaving economic affairs to the individuals concerned was no solution of the economic problems of the country as a whole since economic life was becoming more



In the mean time another conflict has already started within collectivism itself. How far can



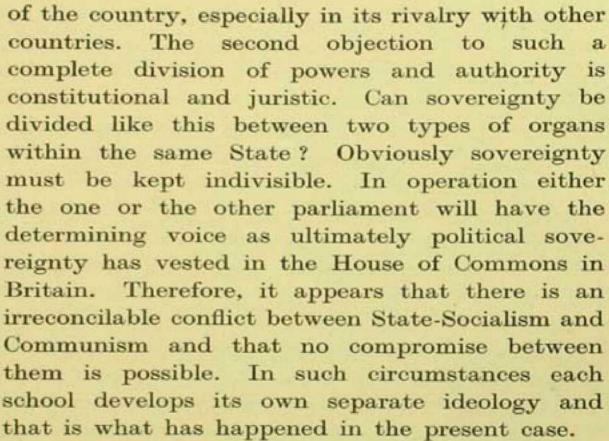




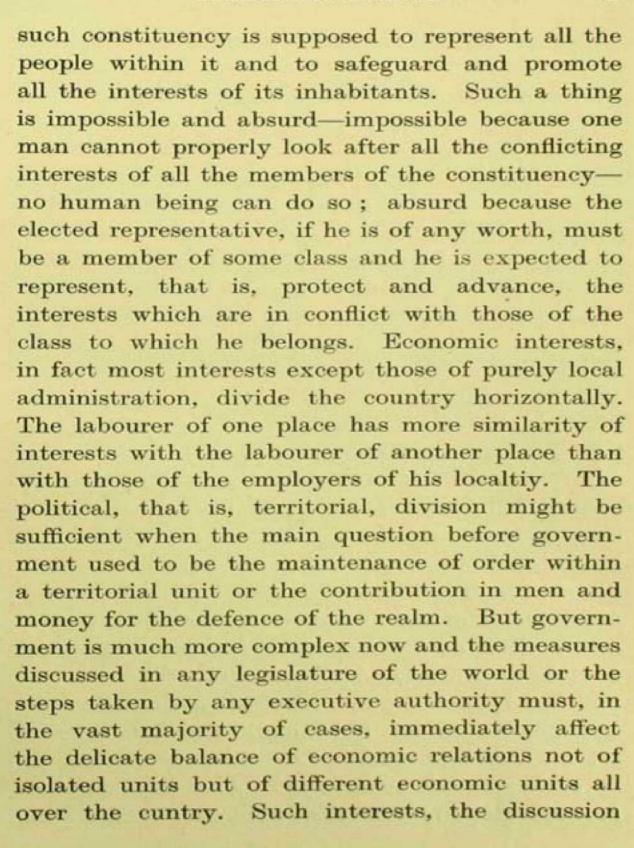
In spite of this conflict between the political and economic organs to secure the full powers of the State several attempts have been made to bring about a compromise between the two opposed ideas which have been current in modern times, especially after the last European war. We may usefully consider here three such attempts. Just before the last war Guild-Socialism had many supporters in Britain. It advocates a complete separation of the economic and other functions of the State. The existing constitutional machinery is to remain as it is but with its powers confined to all non-economic measures. Fresh and altogether separate State organs are to be instituted for all economic purposes. The organs

of economic government are of such primary importance that they cannot be subordinate to the ordinary political machinery but must be co-ordinate with it. In other words, there will be two independent parliaments, one guarding the political interests of society and the other its economic welfare. The questions of wages, prices, conditions of labour, co-ordination of economic measures, settlement of industrial disputes, etc., will be in the sole charge of the economic parliament and will be beyond the jurisdiction of the political parliament of the country.

Such a scheme is obviously open to grave objections. We may here note only two of them which go to the foundation of Guild-Socialism. The first is that it is impossible to divide human life into two such mutually exclusive groups of activities like the political and the economic. The one always affects the other. Political measures have their repercussions upon the economic life of the people and economic measures may foster or undermine the economic interests of political classes as such. The result of such an exclusive division will be either an almost continuous feud between the political and economic parliaments or a gap left between the two types of activities-a sort of no-man's land-in which neither parliament will exercise its jurisdiction. In either case it will be deleterious to the interests

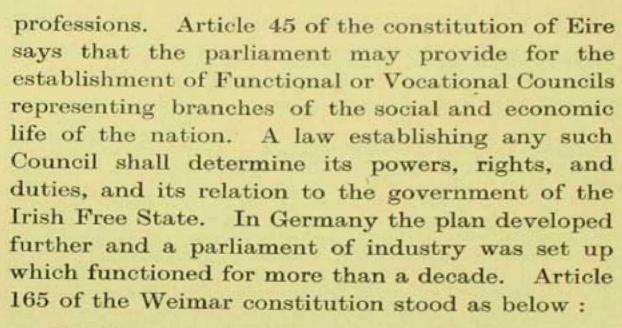


A few practical attempts have been made to introduce compromises in the written constitutions of some countries and these deserve our consideration. The countries are Eire, Germany under the Weimar constitution, and Italy. The first two are analogous while the case of Italy is different. The great weakness of political democracy lies in the constituencies which are the basis of the electoral system. The country is divided vertically into territorial units which have no features common to one another and which are devised purely for administrative convenience. The parliamentary representative elected from one



on which and the action affecting which form the major part of the work of governance, go altogether unrepresented. Therefore, if one parliament is to be retained as at present the constituencies, which form the basis of the electoral system, should be based upon the functional or vocational rather than the territorial system. One homogeneous group of workers with common and allied interests should form part of the same constituency irrespective of the place of their residence which is only an accidental and unessential feature of their life. Thus labourers of a particular grade or lawyers or engineers or artisans throughout the country should form the same constituency to elect their representatives in the parliament. That is, a voter should be an elector not by virtue of his residence in a particular locality but by virtue of his or her being a member of a particular trade or profession.

The compromise which was adopted in Germany in the Weimar cosnstitution and now in Eire is a mild one of having an advisory body elected on the basis of the voters' trades and professions. It does not in any way attempt to supersede the political parliament but leaves it as it is with its full powers intact but simultaneously aims to set up a second chamber on the new model. In Eire the plan has not yet gone beyond that of separate councils for different trades and



For the protection of their social and economic interests, workers and salaried employees shall have legal representation in Workers' Councils for individual undertakings and in District Workers' Councils grouped according to economic districts and in a Workers' Council of the Reich.

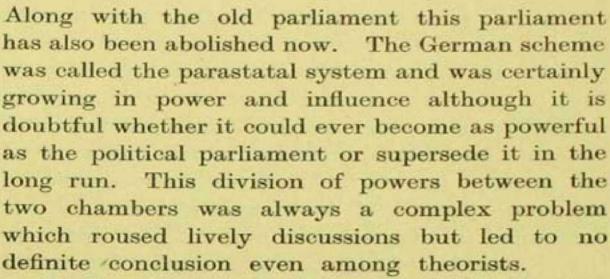
The District Workers' Council and the Workers' Council of the Reich shall combine with representatives of the employers and other classes of the population concerned so as to form District Economic Councils and an Economic Council of the Reich, for the discharge of their joint economic functions and for co-coperation in the carrying-out of laws relating to socialisation. The District Economic Councils and the Economic

Council of the Reich shall be so constituted as to give representation thereon to all important vocational groups in proportion to their economic and social importance.

All Bills of fundamental importance dealing with matters of social and economic legislation shall, before being introduced, be submitted by the Government of the Reich to the Economic Council of the Reich for its opinion thereon. The Economic Council of the Reich shall have the right itself to propose such legislation. Should the Government of the Reich not agree with any such proposal, it must nevertheless introduce it in the Reichstag, accompanied by a statement of its own views thereon. The Economic Council of the Reich may arrange for one of its own members to advocate the proposal in the Reichstag.

Powers of control and administration in any matters falling within their province may be conferred upon Workers' Councils and Economic Councils.

The Constitution and functions of the Workers' and Economic Councils and their relations with other autonomous social organisations are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Reich.



In this connection it is worthy of note that full powers of the State, which had been seized in Russia in 1917 by the economic organs, viz., the councils of workers and peasants, have been taken away from them and the country has theoretically returned to the system of current political system under the new constitution of 1936 although the system of economic councils has been retained as the basis of the new constitution as well. It is obvious, however, that little real power has been left with the councils or the parliament under the regime of dictatorship which functions in Russia.

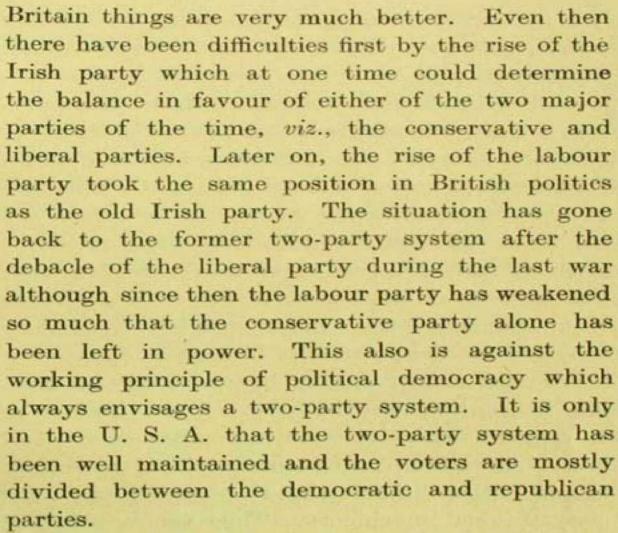
The constitution of Italy promulgated in 1939 has made it a Corporative State. The practical result of the new parliament in Italy is of little value inasmuch as the old parliament on the territorial basis did not, and the new one on the functional or vocational basis does not, possess any sovereign power which rests elsewhere under

the regime of dictatorship. But the constitutional importance of the Italian scheme is very great because for the first time in the history of man such a constitution has been devised for any country. In Russia the councils of workers and peasants are economic bodies which had secured full political powers but they were and even now are more territorial than purely functional or vocational in their elective system. In Germany the parliament of industry was purely functional or vocational but it was only an advisory body to the Reichstag. In Italy both these fundamental principles have been combined and the Chamber of Fascios and Corporations-so far as the elected members, that is, the corporations, are concerned -is purely functional and vocational and it has superseded the old Chamber of Deputies. grave defect is that there is no democratic franchise in Italy as there was none for the old parliament. There is no doubt that under pressure of changing conditions of the world constitution-makers of other countries will have to draw, in future, upon the constructive features of the Italian constitution of 1939.

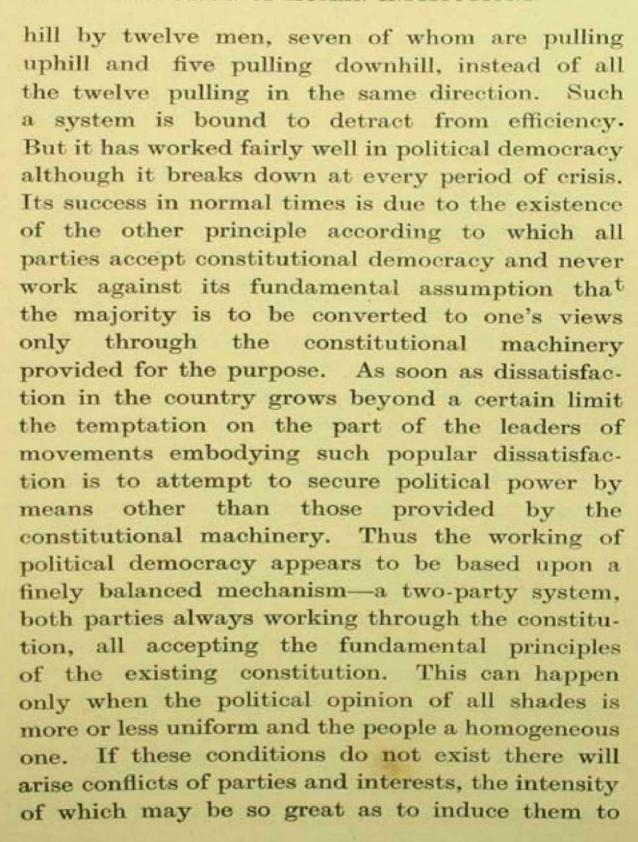
All the political conflicts which we have so far discussed have arisen out of ideas regarding constitution, which accept the coercive power of the State and want to place it in the hands of the rulers for specific purposes and therefore suggest different composition of the supreme and sovereign body which is to wield that coercive power. There was one conflict which arose and died in the second half of the nineteenth century and took a different line. Anarchism refused to recognise the need for any coercive power in the State in any of its institutions and advocated that man in society should be simply left without a coercive State organisation. Although there have survived a few speculative anarchists the movement as such has disappeared from the field and therefore this political conflict does no longer exist.

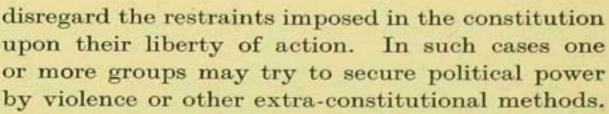
Within the existing structure of political democracy there are two types of conflicts which must be mentioned here. These are sectional and party conflicts. The present system of political democracy works on two fundamental assumptions, one of which has in recent years shown signs of weakness. The first assumption is that all political bodies accept in a general way the principles and the institutions which have been set up under the constitution of the country and therefore agree to work the constitution in the right spirit so that the maximum benefit may be obtained from the institutions. If any minor changes are desired they are to be introduced only by means of constitutional agitation and by persuading the majority in the

parliament to accept those changes. In the countries in which political democracy exists, that is, in Britain, the U.S.A., Switzerland, and several Dominions of the British empire now and France, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark up to early 1940, all political parties of any influence accept this fundamental position that the constitution is substantially well conceived and that alterations should be introduced or advocated only by what is called the constitutional method, that is, through the constitutional machinery provided for the purpose. The second assumption on which this constitutional or political democracy is supposed to be based is that the parliamentary scheme would be worked in practice in a system in which ordinarily two political parties-neither more nor less-would be contesting with each other for power. This is necessary in order to produce a definite policy underlying the political objective of each party when it comes to power. This has been more difficult to retain in recent years. In France this two-party system never developed and the consequence has been too frequent changes in the party alignments and therefore of government policy. This makes the working of political democracy weak and vacillating and has brought discredit on democracy itself as an ineffective instrument for purposes of government. In



Between the parties there is a continuous and irreconcilable conflict which is expected to be permanent and which is supposed to keep both alert and efficient. This is true so far as deliberation and discussion leading to legislation is concerned. But in regard to executive work it appears to an outside observer that this is not the best way to carry through any work with the maximum efficiency. It is a good deal queer and strikes one like carrying a log of wood over a



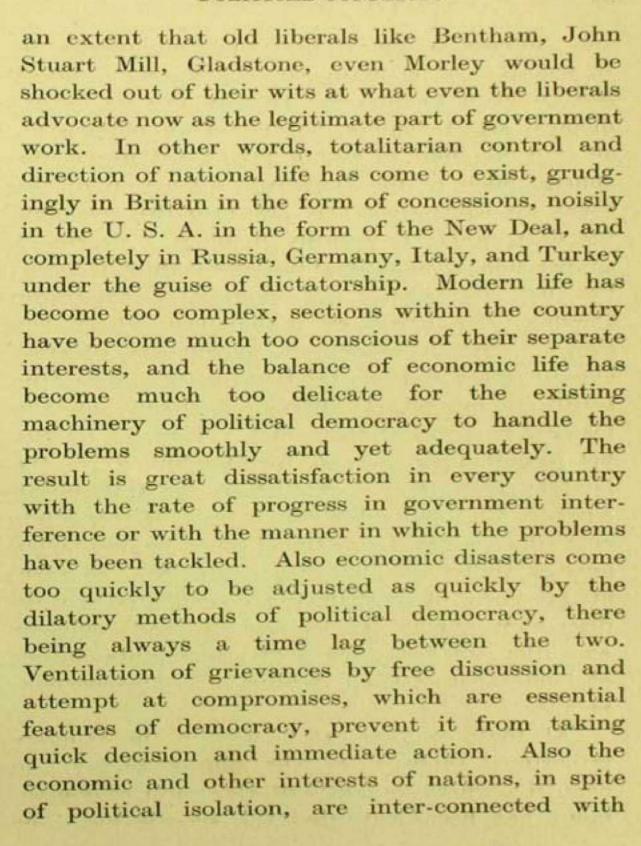


Again, modern democracy accepts nationalism as the fundamental basis of its operation. necessary in order to secure a homogeneity in culture and to a less extent, of political interests, without which the subtle balance of democracy will be upset. But this spirit of nationalism also generates a spirit of exclusiveness and creates a new conflict of nationalities. One nation is pitted against another and thus a conflict more intense and aggressive than any conflict within the homogeneous people is created, which has had devastating effects, for such nationalism makes nations selfish and inconsiderate about the economic and other interests of the rivals. The final method of composing or resolving such national conflicts is resort to war which is hardly a method of permanent value since the vanquished nation can never accept the issue of a war as a fair decision of the righteousness or otherwise of its case. Such conflicts among nations usually arise as a result of conflict of economic interests, which leads to political alliances among nations, thus dividing them into two opposite and antagonistic groups.

We now come to the last of the political conflicts, which has shown itself during the last two

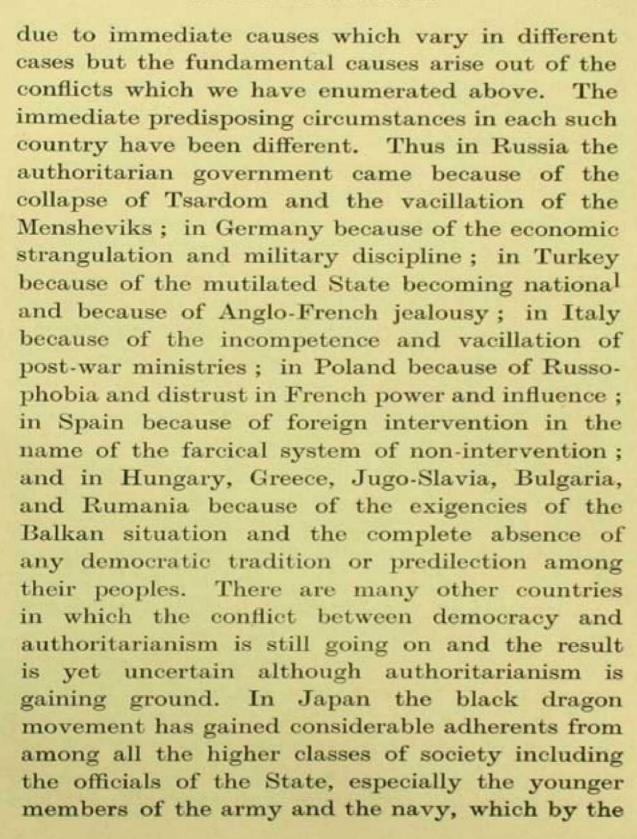
decades. This conflict has been the result of the rise of popular dictatorship, which has been thrown up in several countries in the place of the old monarchy based upon a hereditary oligarchy, with, in several cases, a brief period of confused and inefficient democracy following on the overthrow of the monarchy. No doubt there have been transient but powerful causes favouring the rise of such dictatorship. These are mostly to be found in the political and economic circumstances arising out of the defeat in the last war or of failure to secure the anticipated benefits out of that war on the part of a few of the victorious countries. The vanquished countries are Germany and Turkey and in a sense, Russia, and the disappointed countries are Japan and Italy. But there are deeper causes which have more permanent effects in the determination of this conflict between democracy and dictatorship. It will be wrong and unscientific to assume that this conflict is a transitory feature in the political life of modern times and that it has not been the result of more deep-rooted causes than the apparent ones following on the last war.

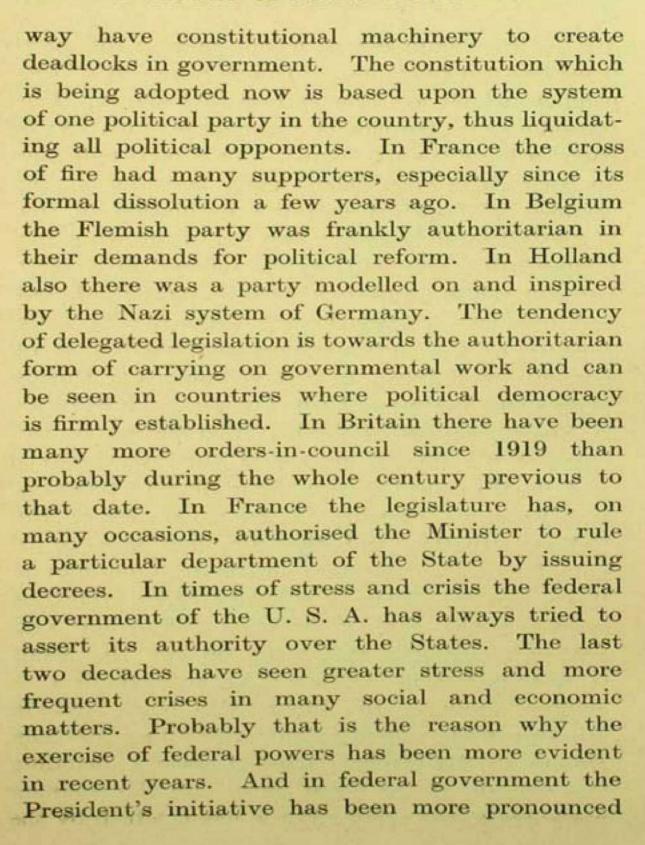
As we have already seen the idea has gained ground everywhere that the old principle of laissez-faire is no longer suitable for modern life. Government interference in the economic and other departments of life has increased to such

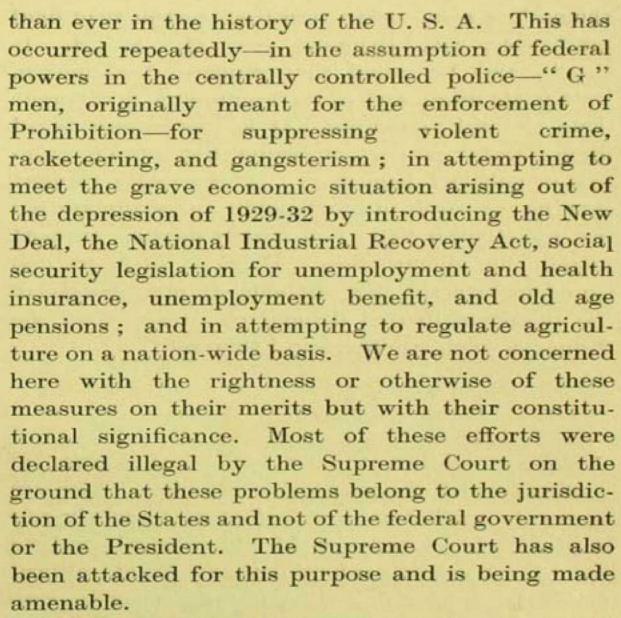


one another owing to the immense progress in the means of communication. Again, political democracy is based upon an emphasis on individualism which cannot be too easily eliminated, as it is required to be, in taking action for the general good of the country. All action of the State for controlling and directing the economic life as a whole necessarily involves a degree of suppression of individual initiative which is traditionally distasteful to political democracy. Further, the spirit of nationalism which has grown into an aggressive instrument directed against other nations tends to work against the spirit of individual liberty which is specially fostered by political democracy. Thus the conflict between democracy and dictatorship is, in the final analysis, also a conflict of the totalitarian against the individualistic form of economic control, of aggressive nationalism in foreign policy against individual liberty within the country, of methods of parliamentary deliberation and discussion against rapid decision and efficient execution, of the growth of strong antagonisms at home against the old ways of a homogeneous people.

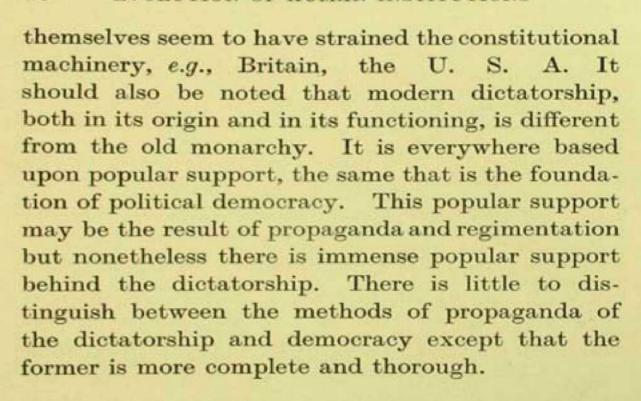
All these conflicts can be seen in almost every important country of the world to-day. In countries where the authoritarian form of government has been instituted the success has been





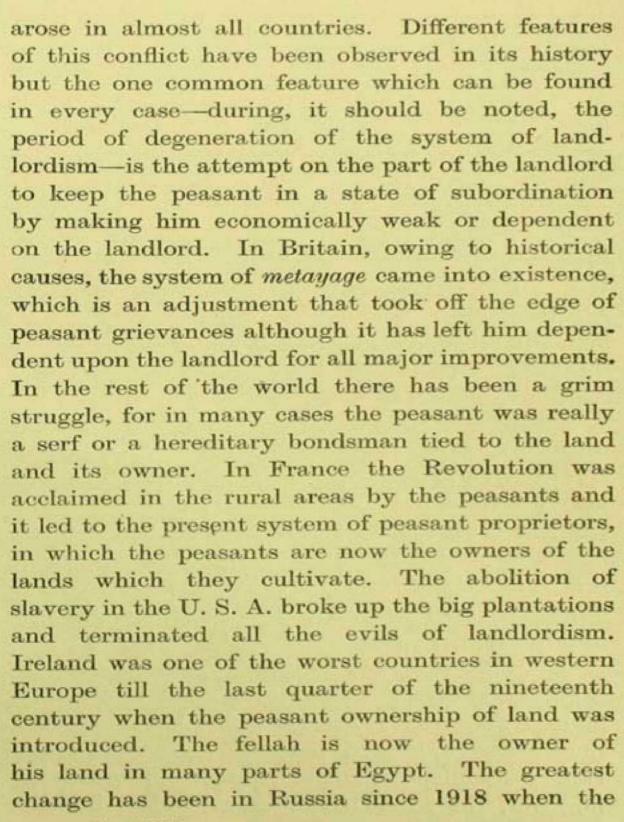


Thus we find authoritarian inroads into modern political democracy at three stages. In several States it is completely successful, e.g., Germany, Italy, Russia, Turkey. In several others it is driving forward and is gaining ground, e.g., Japan, France. In others again it has been accommodated within strict limits although these limits



ECONOMIC CONFLICTS

We now come to the last of the series of conflicts which we propose to discuss. These are economic conflicts. Some of these have already been considered under social and political conflicts according to their predominant social and political features. But a few others need separate consideration here. The first and probably the oldest of such conflicts which have persisted up to modern times is the conflict between the landlord and the peasant. We need not be detained here with the origin of landlordism, the causes of which are different in different countries and at different times in the same country. But the problem



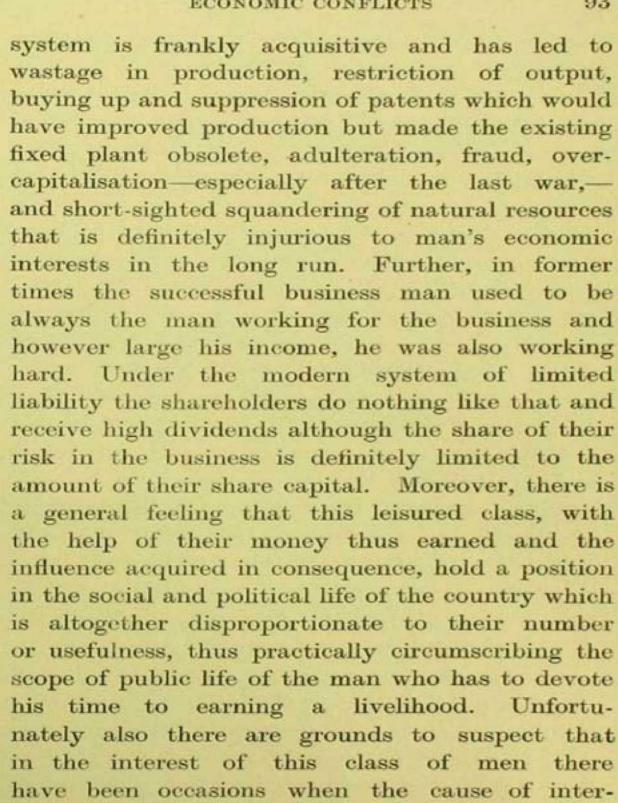
landlord's title to more than one lakh large estates was simply wiped off along with the heads of most of the owners. This was prudently accepted as a warning by the countries of eastern and southeastern Europe, in most of which landlordism was abolished by the State in order to make the countries safe from Bolshevism by removing the major cause of rural discontent. The revolutions in Mexico have resulted in the complete disintegration of landlordism as of many other institutions. Thus we may say that in this conflict between the landlord and the peasant the former has gone down everywhere in Europe and North America. The system of landlordism now exists in South America, Africa, and Asia. In eastern India, especially in the areas in which the land revenue has been permanently settled, the conflict started nearly a century ago but made little headway till about two or three decades ago. The conflict has been mostly confined to struggles regarding rentals, length of lease, tenant's rights of property, inheritance and contract, ownership of tenant's improvements, prerogatives of landlords. Bengal it has taken a more serious turn affecting the very existence of the system of landlordism and it appears to be doomed. The conflict is purely economic and a solution should be and can be found on economic lines. Unfortunately however, the Floud Commission looked into the

question mainly from the political and to some extent, the diplomatic point of view and forgot to give much time to study the economic aspects of the question.

The next economic conflict is that between what are called labour and capital. It should be more properly called a conflict between employers and wage-earners. It may be said to be the most acute and the most explosive of all economic conflicts of modern times. The conflict has been ushered in by three causes. two are the result of the industrial revolution which has created a body of landless labourers dependent entirely upon their wages earned in the industries. This body of workers have found themselves helpless and therefore unconscionably exploited by the employers. The second cause is the factory system which has brought together a large number of workers and has therefore helped towards a continuous exchange of ideas and thus towards combined effort to redress their grievances. The third cause is the spread of general education and infiltration of political and economic ideas about their rights and the methods of securing them. The Socialist manifesto of Marx and Engels issued in 1848 may be said to have formulated the plan of action of the workers as also inspired them since that date. It was a doctrine of extremism which succeeded

for a time in Russia but it has coloured the outlook of all workers in every country and has guided their action in many cases.

We are here concerned with the conflict itself and not with the arguments which have been advanced by the parties to the conflict. But one fact appears to be well established. That is that the Socialist criticism of the existing distribution of the factory income is largely correct although their proposals for a remedy appear to be too unpractical and violent. ' We may note here some tendencies in our own times which may be divided into those which help the workers and those which tell against them in this conflict. The wasteful and extravagant use of wealth by the rich has created a sentiment against them in spite of their magnificent display of the sense of social obligation by endowing large-scale charities for the humanitarian, scientific, æsthetic, and cultural advancement of the world. Also it is doubtful whether the charges for capital, organisation, and enterprise need be so high as they are in order to keep up the even flow of men for the supply of these essential agents of modern production. Must the price for that be as high as between 30 and 40 per cent. of the gross income of an industry? May there not be an iron law of profits as much as, it is said, there is an iron law of wages? Again, the present

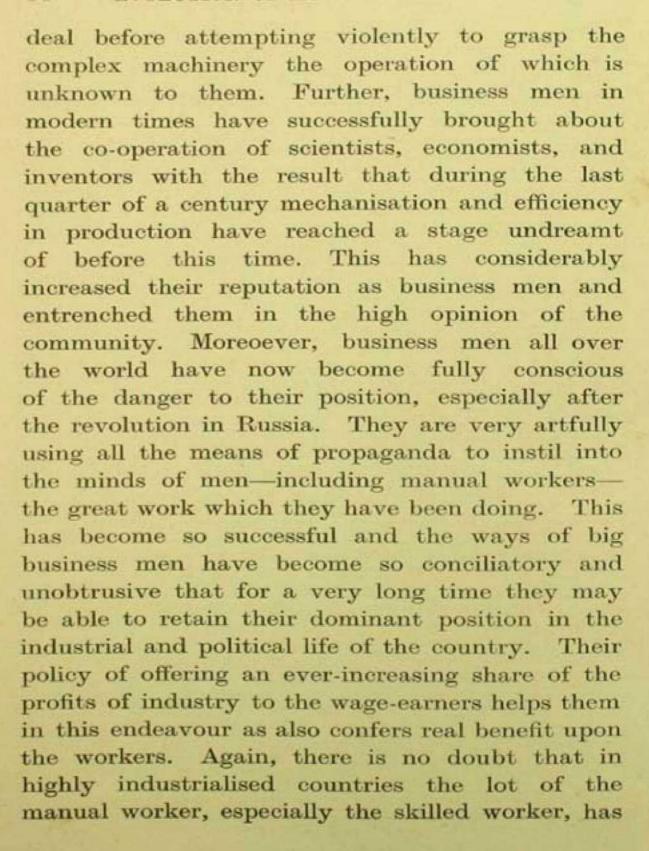


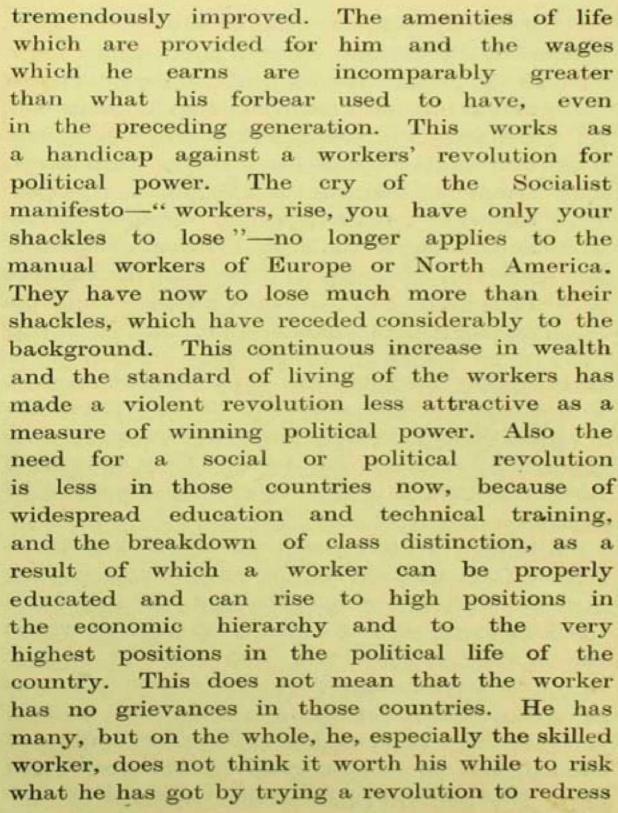
national peace, free speech, free press, academic

freedom, and impartial justice has been in jeopardy.

On the other hand, there can be found many factors which have worked against the wageearners. The most important is the claim of the industrial workers to all political power to the exclusion of all other classes in society. The greatest weakness of Socialism is that it has failed to recognise intellectual workers also as part of those who, like manual workers, are dissatisfied with the existing system and who would like to join the manual workers in the conflict. Even among manual workers the well-organised industrial workers have claimed a monopoly of power against the peasants. In spite of the great peasant movements in Russia political power, so long as it was with the masses, was entirely in the hands of the councils of workers and not in those of the councils of peasants. Thus the industrial workers have isolated themselves by their extreme demand for a monopoly of political power in their hands. And they have already demonstrated how ruthlessly they can use this power to extirpate all other classes and to hold in subordination the great mass of peasants who outnumber them in such a large proportion. Also the claim for equality has been pushed too far in modern democracy. There is undoubtedly a difference in the natural abilities of men, which

refuse to be levelled down by a system of common education and by a common environment. In exercising a vote, which requires intelligence and judgment, each man or woman has got one vote. But men are not equal in judgment. Yet popular democracy has everywhere supported the policy of one vote for one man although it vehemently denounces the Socialist advocacy of the policy of one income for every man. The physical needs of an idiot and a man of genius are much less different than the difference in their abilities as voters or rulers of men. Again, in spite of the recent slogan about the dignity of labour talented men invariably tend to rise above the stage of machine-tenders and pass into higher ranks. Thus the real workers are always left without their natural leaders who are absorbed by the other classes. With greater mobility within the modern economic system this process is going on more quickly and more completely than, say, fifty years ago. Moreover, the industrial and commercial system is now organised on a very large scale and is highly complex. It is so delicately balanced that a little upsetting in one part disorganises the whole system and brings disaster to a large number of men including the wage-earners themselves. This makes the leaders of labour, who have little experience of control and direction at higher stages, hesitate a great



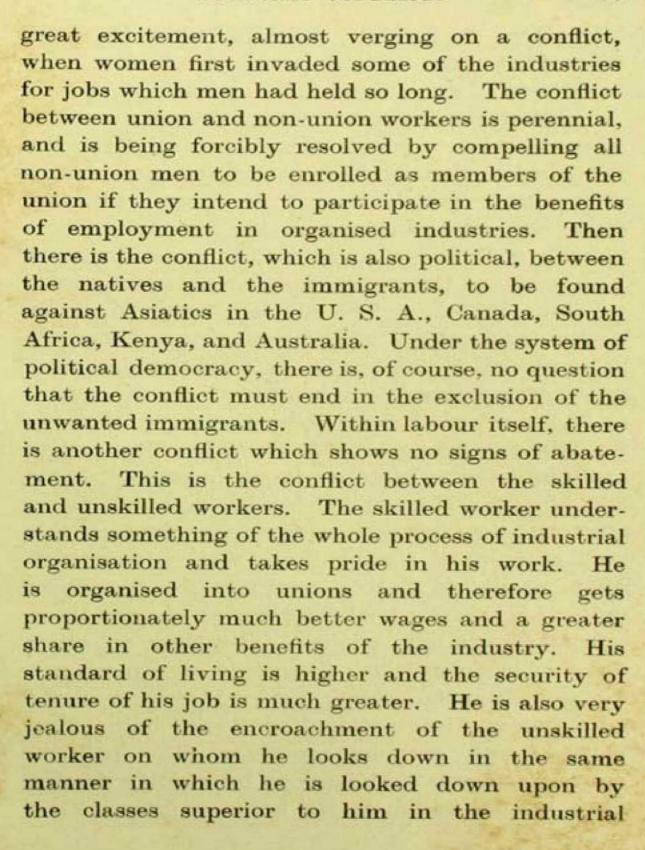


his remaining grievances. These grievances centre round the following:

The pay-scale, the basis of remuneration, the amount of and compensation for overtime, the length of the working day, Sunday and holiday labour, full-pay leave, night work, removable hazards to life, limb, or health, sanitary conditions, shop discipline, rules and fines, grounds of discharge, workers freedom of speech and freedom to organise, recognition of workers' unions by the employers, the closed shop.

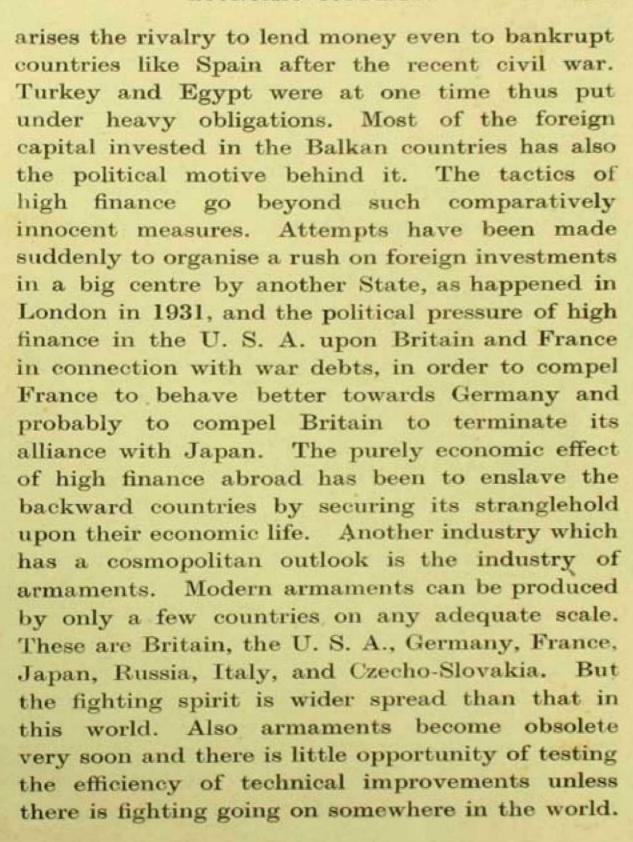
It is worthy of note that as a reaction against the class consciousness of the workers the "capitalists" have also, in recent years, become class-conscious and class-loyal. They are much better organised to-day than they used to be even two decades ago.

Although we have been talking of workers as if they form part of one harmonious unit in their struggle with the employers, yet, it will be a mistake to think that there is no conflict within the workers themselves. The workers in any factory always look with hostility upon attempts of encroachment on the part of other workers aspiring for the same jobs. This has happened even in the case of "union" workers, especially at a time of industrial crisis. Also there was



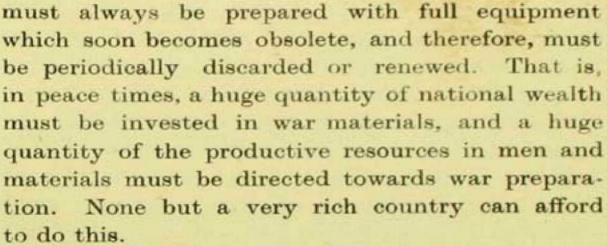
hierarchy. As a result, the skilled worker is much more lukewarm in his support of a violent revolution than the unskilled worker.

Within the economic fold, there is a conflict of modern times, which can, in general terms, be described as that between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The interest of most ordinary industries and businesses is national. These flourish well under cover, and in order to make high profits at the cost of the consumers, they want to shut out or reduce foreign competition by raising tariff walls. They want protected markets at home, and their government's political influence to secure markets for their products in neutral or backward countries. With the decay of men's faith in the principle of laissez-faire, they expect State intervention to advance their cause at home and abroad. Most of the big businesses of every advanced country have successfully obtained this kind of political support from their government. As a result we find a scramble for the State protection of industrial interests as against those of rival foreign industrialists. But there are other types of business which flourish in an atmosphere of cosmpolitanism. High finance is well organised and has an international outlook, both from political and economic motives. The political motive is to create obligations by which a foreign State will be bound to the home country. Thus



Thus, armaments industries sell to the smaller countries and egg them on to war among themselves for testing the results of industry. The smaller countries are nothing but pawns in this game, for their internecine wars can be stopped easily, if by nothing else, then at least by drying up the flow of armaments.

When war starts between two big countries, it is also, in a sense, an economic conflict between them. Apart from the original causes of such a war, which are mostly economic, the success of the issue is also largely dependent upon the economic resources of the contending parties. The present war has already started to be an economic struggle. The manufacture of modern weapons of war is highly costly, and a war can be carried on only if it is waged on a large scale. It is much more capitalistic than any war before the present century began. The cost of a battleship, aeroplane, tank, heavy bomb, submarine, torpedo is enormous. The consequence is that only very rich and highly industrialised countries can wage war with any hope of success. Great natural resources, unlimited credit, technical knowledge, and industrial skill must be possessed in great abundance before a modern war can be fought. The rich country is superior also in another way. The implements of modern warfare take a long time to produce. Therefore, all the big countries



Another economic conflict exists in the form of a struggle between what we may term combination and competition. Combination is usually another form of competition, the disorganised and the weak with common economic interests combining together in order to compete more effectively with the stronger rival. But very big combinations of producers have grown rapidly during the last half a century. Their object appears to be to eliminate competition altogether and secure a monopoly in the production or trade of a particular commodity. The economic reasons why they can succeed are mainly three. By the very large scale of production, they can secure a great reduction in the cost of production, which is all for the good of the community. But, it is not their intention to allow the consumers of their product to participate in the lower cost by selling their product at a lower price. Then they can purchase all the materials which they require for monopolists and having no rivals they are the only purchasers of such materials. Therefore, they can, so to say, dictate their price of such materials. This also reduces their cost of production. On the other hand, being the only producers of that article they can sell it at the highest price at which the consumers of their product must purchase it or go without it; that is, they can squeeze the consumers and obtain the highest possible price. All these factors increase their profits, either by reducing the cost of their production or by raising the price at which they can sell their product.

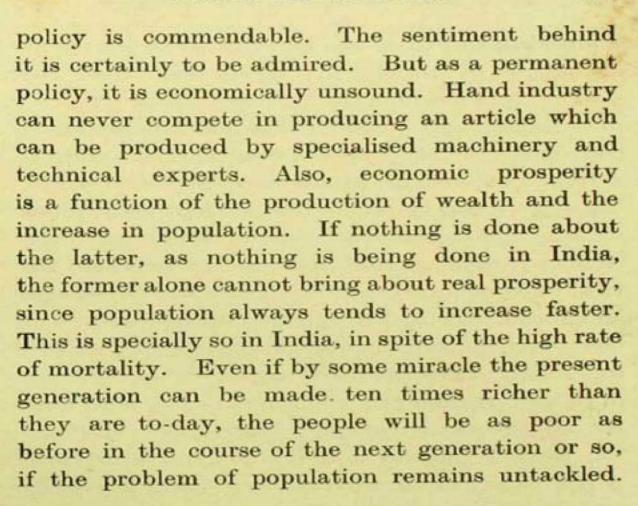
The continuous growth of such combinations has been possible for two reasons. As a result of scientific inventions and highly developed methods of business organisation, there has been such a great specialisation in plants and human work, that only the very large industries can take full advantage of such specialisation. If a costly machinery or a highly paid expert is to be engaged full time on a very small portion of the whole work, it can be possible only when the industry is run on a huge scale; so that the total product is so large that such a machine or an expert can be kept engaged for the whole time on a small part of the work. Therefore, in competition, all small-scale inudstries must disappear, as they



cannot afford to specialise to this extent, and therefore, their cost of production per unit of output remains higher. In this way, we find that the evolution of industrial unit has been in the direction of larger and larger size in business units. As a result, there tends to be now a smaller number of very large industrial units producing one particular article, as contrasted with the situation of fifty years ago, when there used to be a larger number of smaller industrial units producing the same article. This brings into operation the second cause favouring combination. It is always easier to bring about negotiation and agreement among a smaller number than among a larger number. The heads of big business units are more intelligent and more aware of the wider forces affecting their business than heads of smaller units whose vision is necessarily limited within the small market in which they hope to sell their product. When a few large industrial units survive, they know that all of them are strong with huge material resources and very clever men employed by them. Therefore, any attempt on the part of one of them to destroy the others will lead to an economic struggle by cut-throat competition which is likely to prove disastrous to itself. Thus the psychological condition predisposing one to come to terms with one's rivals is brought into existence. If

they persist in competition, there is likely to be disaster for all; in any case, under competition the price at which they must sell will be lower, and the benefit goes out of their hands into those of the consumers of their product. But if they all combine, they can retain to themselves all the benefits that accrue to the industry from the lower cost of production as a result of large-scale production, cheap raw materials, and the high price which they can compel the consumers of their product to pay. In this way, huge combinations of industries and business have grown in modern times. The control of such combinations is in the hands of a few men at the top. Sometimes, the same body of men control several big businesses. Thus, the development in economic organisation has gone on in the direction of larger and larger business units under the control of a smaller number of men at the top, whose control and direction have been more and more complete.

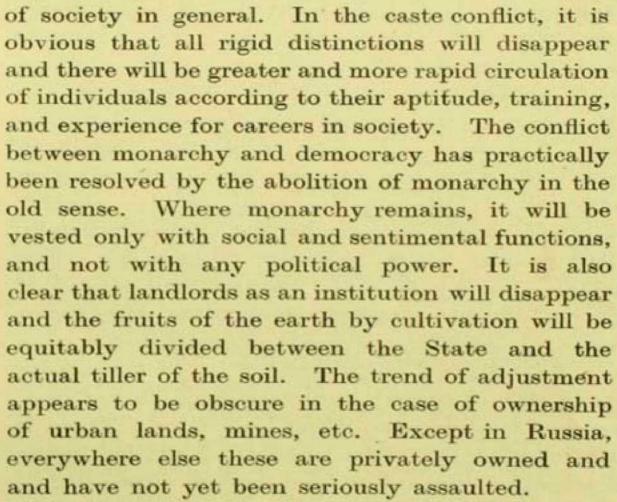
In India, in recent years, a movement, mainly based on sentiment, has grown, which may be said to be a sort of conflict between large and very small industries. This is mainly confined to one industry, viz. cotton piecegoods. Handspinning and hand-weaving have been advocated widely in order to give employment to peasants who always have a large part of their time without any agricultural work. As a temporary aid, the



TRENDS IN ADAPTATION

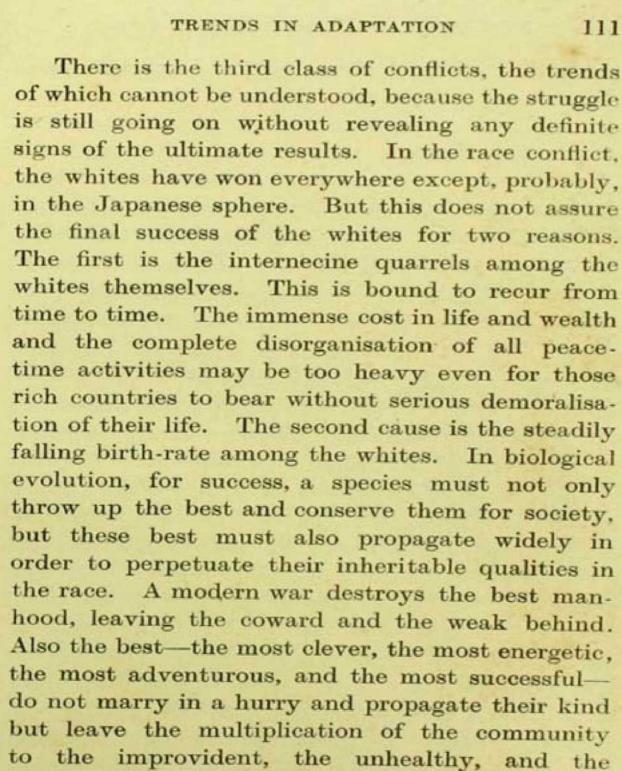
We should now turn our attention to the adaptation which is going on in all the cases of conflicts which we have studied, and attempt a brief summary of the trends in such adaptations as revealed in the foregoing study of the various kinds of conflicts. In the case of some conflicts, the trends in adaptation are clear; in others, they are blurred and uncertain; in others again, the conflicts are still going on and are

undecided, and there are no signs as to how they are going to terminate. It is clear that the conflict between the old and the young will end in a mutual adjustment. The old are becoming conscious that they must preserve their physical activity and mental alertness in the race of life. They are being helped by the modern institutions of health, hygiene, and popular literature. conflict is really a conflict of ideals between the two. The education of the young is more thorough and rapid. Thus, the gulf separating the two is being bridged, and the objective of the two regarding social advancement cannot be much different in future. In the sex conflict, it is also clear that the adjustment is coming in the form of dividing the field of human activity roughly into three The more adventurous and physically strenuous part will be left to man and the softer ones to woman. Between the two there will be a wide field in which both the sexes will have free scope for their activity in healthy rivalry to each other; woman will win most of the jobs which require patience, sympathy, and quiet persistence for their successful working. In the conflict between the active and leisured classes again, it is clear that leisure in the sense of absence of socially useful work will not be tolerated and the jeisured class will be compelled, at least under pressure of public opinion, to be active on behalf



In the conflict between the urban and the rural population, the issue is still uncertain. The rural people are being educated to a realisation of their power and importance. In the U. S. A. and Russia, agriculturists are becoming organised. A great solvent in this conflict is the rapid means of communication like posts, telegraphs, telephones, radios, cinemas, newspapers and magazines, and quick means of transportation like railways, motor vehicles, aeroplanes, and steamships. The suburban habit is also rapidly spreading beyond

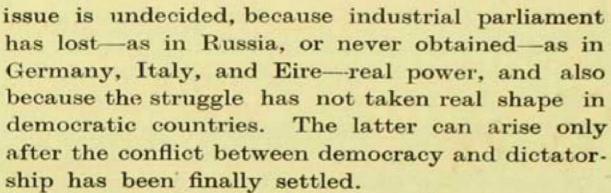
the suburbs and the townsfolk are being drawn nearer to the rural people. As a result, there is a distinct tendency towards ruralisation of towns and urbanisation of villages. Villages in the West now possess almost all the amenities of town life. The destructive power of modern warfare in every congested area may also have a determining effect upon the final solution of this conflict. The issue in the religious conflict is also uncertain. Two distinct trends appear in the struggle. One is tolerance which is the result of the spread of general education and culture and the unobtrusive ways of practising formal religion on the part of its followers. The other is the complete extinction of the religious sentiment among men, especially among the rising generation. There is also uncertainty in the trend of adaptation in the conflict between labour and capital. Its political implications will be noted in connection with Socialism and industrial parliament. To the extent that this conflict is economic, there is uncertainty about the trend of events. realised that highly complex and large industrial concerns benefit the society, the workers, and the consumers in spite of their patent defects, and that their abolition will certainly reduce the scale of wealth production. On the other hand, evils of capitalism naturally tempt the workers to grasp full control over the industries.



unscrupulous. In the political conflict between State intervention and Socialism of the extreme

type, it is also evident that the issue is as yet

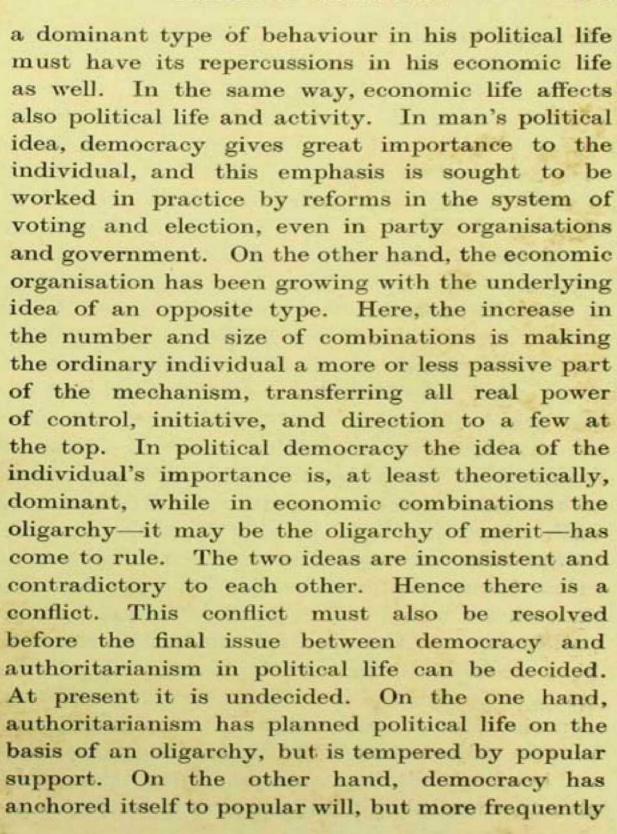
undecided. The only practical example was Russia for a decade following the revolution in 1917. It was much too bloody, and covered much too short a period, to decide the issue. Now Russia has an unmixed dictatorship which is far away from popular control, and which is indistinguishable from popular dictatorship in Germany, Italy, and Turkey. In fact, the latter is more vigorous, but in these countries there are no signs of the two important characteristics of Socialism. One of these is the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, vesting their ownership in the State. There is, no doubt, more complete State control, but no attempt or even thought of this transfer of ownership is discernible. The other characteristic is the transferance of all sovereign powers of the State to the economic organs, culminating in a parliament of industry and the abolition of the present system of political parliament. Dictatorship has practically abolished all parliaments. The struggle will no doubt start elsewhere when there will be a real conflict within the democratic fold, between the political and industrial parliaments, for sovereign power. It appears that there is little scope for a compromise or mutual adjustment in this struggle, since sovereign power must ultimately rest in one of these parliaments, the other, if retained at all, being only a subordinate or advisory body. The



Thus the conflict between the democratic and authoritarian forms of government may be said to have great importance in the immediate future. We have seen how this conflict is really a conflict of a series of other vital factors, and therefore should not be attributed only to transient causes which existed immediately before the advent of the regime of dictators and which paved their way to political power. The final issue, it will bear repetition to say, will depend upon how the other conflicts are decided, viz. the conflicts and individualism, between totalitarianism between aggressive nationalism in foreign policy and individual liberty within a country, between parliamentary deliberation and discussion on the one hand, and on the other, quick decision and swift but efficient execution, between strong antagonisms and solidarity of a nation within itself. These are all open questions as yet, and till the trends in these conflicts are definite, the final decision of the conflict between democracy and authoritarianism cannot be within sight. It

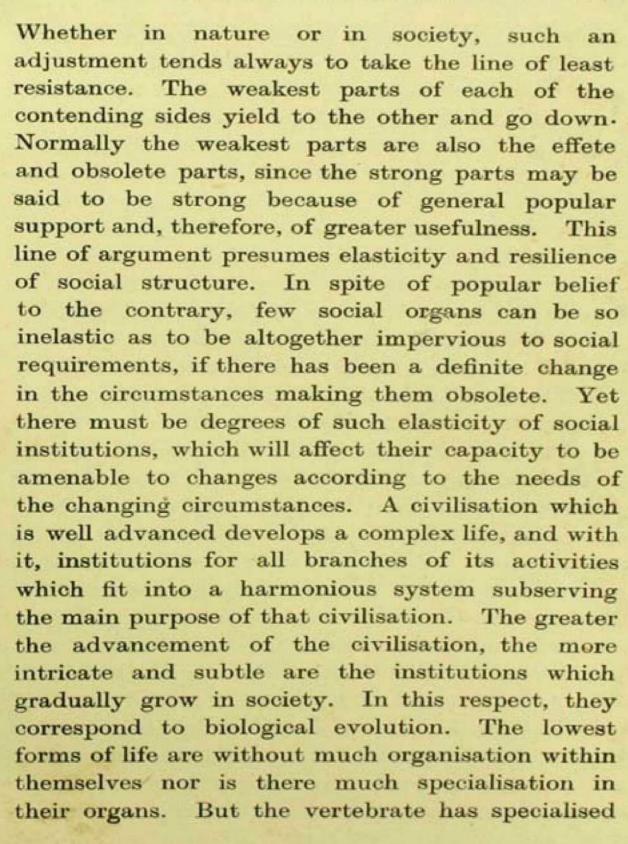
should be noted that this decision cannot come merely as a result of a war such as the present one, in which, in a sense, this conflict also may be said to be involved. The sudden spread of undiluted democracy after the last war did not resolve, but only intensified the conflict. The post-war dictatorship was more thorough, more complete, and more popular than the pre-war dictatorship in Russia, Germany, and Turkey. Also the post-war democracy in the succession States of Europe was less efficient, less tolerant, and less homogeneous than democracy in the older countries like Britain, the U.S. A., France, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, etc. In the social as well as in the physical world, the Newtonian law of action followed by reaction operates, and neither action nor reaction can be said to be an adjustment in the true sense of the word.

This conflict between democracy and authoritarianism will also depend for its solution, to a great extent, upon the economic conflict which we have described as that between competition and combination. This conflict is also undecided and shows as yet no definite trend one way or the other in regard to a final solution. However convenient for scientific study it may be to divide topics into politi cal, economic, etc., man's mind and behaviour are not so separated, but work as one unit. A dominant idea in the human mind, or

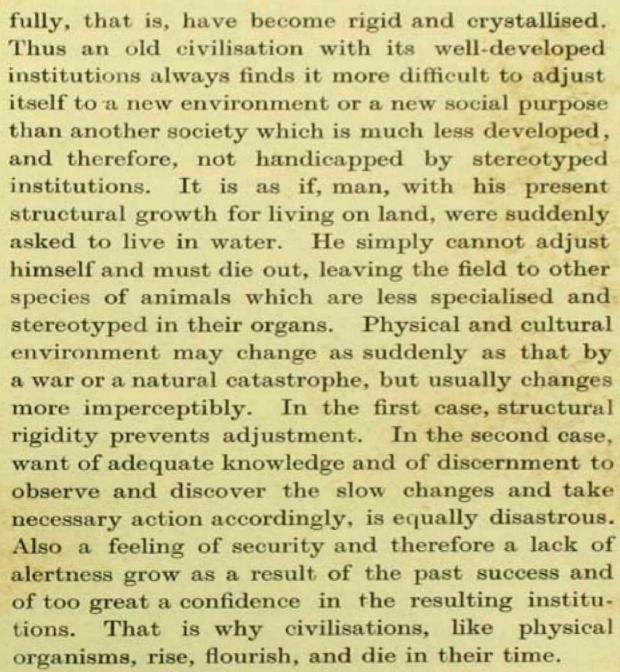


than ever before, resorts to bureaucratic methods of control by the executive power in the form of what is called delegated legislation. Each is being affected by the other. It is undecided whether the one or the other will be completely victorious, or whether there will be a workable compromise as an adjustment. If the latter, no signs of its nature or form can yet be discerned.

It may be interesting to note a few general tendencies in adaptation and the consequent fate of past civilisations. When a conflict arises, forces tend to move towards an adaptation which may take two opposite forms. The immediate result is a contest, and either side attempts to eliminate the other altogether. If this is successfully accomplished, the adaptation takes the form of retention of power by the older, or replacement of the older class or institution by the new one. Such adaptation is by moving from one extreme to the other extreme, a sort of pendulum movement from one end to the other, what the dialectician would call a thesis followed by the antithesis, and the scientist, an action followed by a reaction. A real synthesis arises only if the struggle to the finish is frustrated and the two opposing forces are reconciled in a larger and broader adjustment. Such adjustment may lead to bending, altering, or modifying the social structure according to the nature of the adjustment.



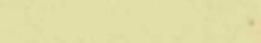
to a great extent and therefore requires a larger number of organs to work its life process. Also, there is a delicate balancing of its specialised organs, all fitting into a harmonious whole, the upsetting of one causing grave disturbance in the functioning of the rest of the organs. same is also true of institutions forming parts of a civilisation. The growth is by the process of what Herbert Spencer calls differentiation and integration, and what we may now call functional specialisation by growing one separate organ for each function, and dovetailing all organs for the benefit of one another and of the society as a whole. In this way, a social structure grows which serves one type of social evolution which we call a civilisation. But this growth depends upon the physical environment of the particular society as also upon the knowledge and capacity of its members to adjust their institutions to the environment. A civilisation is always the product of a long period of such adjustment and may thus be taken as the most suitable type in the conditions of the time during which it has evolved. conditions may radically alter as a result of physical or social causes. If they do, an old civilisation finds itself handicapped in the new struggle for existence. Its institutions are meant to serve in a particular environment and for a particular social purpose and they have grown



It is worthy of note that there has been no case in the history of man when a civilisation which had flourished well and died, has again appeared in a subsequent age with an equally great civilisation. China, Nubia, Egypt, Sumeria,

Assyria, India, Phoenicia, Crete, Greece, Rome, Iran, Arabia-all failed to adjust their civilisations to the new circumstances and have so far failed to develop again to any position in the cultural life of modern man at all comparable to their position in the past. Of these centres of civilisation, China and India alone have been able to retain a modicum of their past civilisations. This not only speaks a great deal for their past inherent strength but also bespeaks incapacity or unwillingness to alter. In such circumstances, the natural protective outlook is the anti-scientific one, viz. that civilisation is a perennial, immutable adjustment which is attained once for all, and is only to be kept intact for ever afterwards. The dynamic aspect of life, of its environment, of its attitude and of its urges, is overlooked. This makes it more difficult for the growth of new and suitable institutions and more dangerous for the very existence of that society. What we are witnessing to-day in China and India is a process of social dissolution which Egypt, Greece, Rome witnessed several centuries ago.

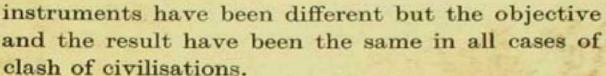
Nor is it easy for such a social system to break up the old order and take to a new one. Greece and Rome have taken to the north European civilisation during the last one hundred years. So are China, India, Egypt, Iran trying to do now. But there is a fundamental difference between



the processes of the past civilisation and the adoption of the new. In the past, when its civilisation was being built up in each of these countries, the process, like the pangs of a new birth, was all its own, compelling it to think, to try, to err, to ponder, and to hesitate before the adjustment. The genius of the people worked slowly and painfully for centuries in order to evolve institutions suitable for, and giving expression to. its cultural ideals. Now it can only borrow what has been successful elsewhere, and in the swift race of modern life, attempts overnight to overhaul its institutions-discarding, breaking, and replacing. Japan appears to reveal some signs of successful adjustment. But Japan's civilisation was less developed and therefore less burdened with stereotyped institutions suitable for a bygone age. Also Japan's success has been more spectacular than real inasmuch as the masses have not been affected by the rapid changes which have been adopted wholesale from the West. Moreover, in the case of Japan, it is discarding one borrowed civilisation, viz. that of China, in favour of another borrowed civilisation, viz. that of the West.

In the mean time the old centres of civilisation, or centres of prospective new civilisations, are handicapped in the race by the rapid growth of the means of communication and of destruction

in the hands of the new civilisation which has been developing in northern Europe during the past three hundred years, and which has since migrated and permanently settled in several other parts of the world. The onslaughts of this Eur-American civilisation do not leave to the other centres any time or opportunity to develop their own civilisation along the lines of their own genius, for their separate existence has been made impossible by the spread of this new civilisation. It is not merely the political and economic life which is being suppressed in these older centres; what is more, the social and spiritual urges are being superseded or perverted. This is nothing unnatural or exceptional for the Eur-American civilisation. All civilisations have spread thus in the past, limited only by the limits of human capacity to organise, extend, and overwhelm other civilisations. The latest means of communication and of destruction, which have wrought- such disaster to the civilisations of the non-white races, must themselves be considered as part of the institutions developed by the new civilisation. Nor can its use of such institutions for overwhelming other civilisations and spreading itself be said to be unprecedented in the history of man. This has always happened in the case of every civilisation, in every country, in all ages, throughout man's history. The means and methods and



It is not the function of a student of the evolution of human institutions to suggest remedies for an existing social evil or the means of escape from a difficult social situation. There is no apparent remedy nor any immediate means. Real adjustment does not come out of purely theoretical speculation on possibilities, nor does it reveal itself in a flash. It is a gradual process depending upon the peculiar genius of a particular people. It is a slow, painful, and difficult thing to discover that genius, as also the bent of its working in a given situation. To a greater extent than we realise, it is a process of experiment and trial by individual members of a people. Human achievement depends largely upon the spirit of adventure that is innate in the people and it is only by experimenting along different lines in a real spirit of adventure that the genius of a people is revealed and the necessary lines of adjustment indicated. important means, therefore, is to keep up the spirit of adventure and allow it sufficient scope to work itself untrammelled, as far as possible, by the chains of older institutions on the one hand and the impact of the new civilisation on the other. but not isolated from either of these influences. The spirit of adventure is the spirit of youth and

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it is the youth of the country, no matter whether they are young or old in physical age, upon whom will depend whether the civilisation of their country will be the old and obsolete thing which they may have inherited from the past, or a cheap imitation of the new civilisation which is knocking at their door—nay, knocking about within their doors,—or whether it will be a civilisation which is an organic growth embodying the spontaneous adjustment of the genius of the people and the new environment, conditioned by the changes in the social and physical circumstances of their existence.

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